

THIRD VOLUME.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

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A  
V I E W  
OF  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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C H A P. I.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Articles of Confederation—New Constitution agreed to—  
Face of the Country—Curious Phenomena—Soil and pro-  
duce—Population—Literature—Influence of Slavery on  
Policy and Manners.*

**T**HE United States contain thirteen countries or provinces, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Besides these, several new states have lately arisen. These provinces were formerly known by the name of the British Colonies; but, after a long and destructive war, they were declared free, sovereign, and independent, states. A.D. 1783. Of the rise and progress of the American contest a particular account is given, in the view of the history of England.

No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonists to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the state legislatures. Articles of confederation

VOL. III. B and

## *Articles of Confederation.*

A. D. 1778. and perpetual union had been framed in congress, and submitted to the consideration of the states, in which they assumed the title of "The United States of America;" and by which each of the colonies contracted a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that might threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel, in common, all the attacks that might be levelled against all, or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever. Each of the colonies reserved to themselves alone, the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws on all matters not included in the articles of confederation. But for the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, it was determined, that delegates should be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state should direct, to meet in congress on the first Monday of November of every year, with a power reserved to each state to recal its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year. No state was to be represented in congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person was capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor was any person being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or any other for his benefit, should receive any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining questions in the United States in congress assembled, each state was to have one vote. Every state was to abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled, on all questions which were submitted to them by the confederation. The articles of confederation were to be inviolably observed by every state, and the union was to be perpetual; nor was any alteration, at any time hereafter, to be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state.

These articles however were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of coercive power in government; by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a system of government armed with the powers necessary to regulate and control the contending interest of thirteen states, and the possessions

essions of millions of people, might have raised a jealousy between the states, or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of war, and perhaps have rendered an union impracticable.

Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the conclusion of peace, these defects began to be felt. Each state assumed the right of disputing the propriety of the resolutions of Congress, and the interest of an individual state was placed in opposition to the common interest of the union. In addition to this source of division, a jealousy of the powers of congress began to be excited in the minds of the people. This jealousy of the privileges of freemen, had been roused by the oppressive acts of the British parliament; and no sooner had the danger from this quarter ceased, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned against their own rulers.

Without an union that was able to form and execute a general system of commercial regulations, some of the states attempted to impose restraints upon the British trade that should indemnify the merchant for the losses he had suffered, or induce the British ministry to enter into a commercial treaty and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. These measures however produced nothing but mischief. The states did not act in concert; and the restraints laid on the trade of one state operated to throw the business into the hands of its neighbour. Massachusetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the English navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon British goods imported into that state; but the other states did not adopt a similar measure; and the loss of business soon obliged that state to repeal or suspend the law. Thus when Pennsylvania laid heavy duties on British goods, Delaware and New-Jersey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of those states; and the duties in Pennsylvania served no purpose, but to create smuggling.

Thus divided, the states began to feel their weakness. Most of the legislatures had neglected to comply with the requisitions of congress for furnishing the federal treasury; the resolves of congress were disregarded; the proposition for a general impost to be laid and collected by congress was negatived first by Rhode-Island, and afterwards by New-York. The British troops continued to hold possession of the forts on the frontiers of the states, and thus commanded the fur  
Many of the states individually were infested with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppressed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had lost most of their value, and circulated merely as the ob-  
jects

jects of speculation; congress lost their respectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

In the midst of these calamities, a proposition A. D. 1785. was made, in the house of delegates in Virginia, to appoint commissioners, to meet such as might be appointed in the other states, who should form a system of commercial regulations for the United States, and recommend to the several legislatures for adoption. Commissioners were therefore appointed, and a request was made to the legislatures of the other states to accede to the proposition. Accordingly several of the states appointed commissioners, who met at Annapolis to consult what measures should be taken to unite the states in some general and efficient commercial system. But as the states were not all represented, and the powers of the commissioners were, in their opinion, too limited to propose a system of regulations adequate to the purposes of government, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the next year, with powers to frame a general plan of government for the United States. This measure appeared to the commissioners absolutely necessary. The old confederation was essentially defective. It was destitute of almost every principle necessary to give effect to legislation.

It was defective in the article of legislating over states, instead of individuals. All history testifies that recommendations will not operate as laws, and compulsion cannot be exercised over states, without violence, war, and anarchy. The confederation was also destitute of a sanction to its laws. When resolutions were passed in congress, there was no power to compel obedience by fine, by suspension of privileges, or other means. It was also destitute of a guarantee for the state governments. Had one state been invaded by its neighbour, the union was not constitutionally bound to assist in repelling the invasion, and supporting the constitution of the invaded state. The confederation was further deficient in the principle of apportioning the quotas of money to be furnished by each state; in a want of power to form commercial laws, and to raise troops for the defence and security of the union; in the equal suffrage of the states, which placed Rhode-island on a ~~level~~ <sup>footing</sup> in congress with Virginia; and to crown all the defects, we may add the want of judiciary power, to define the laws of the union, and to reconcile the contradictory decisions of a number of independent judicatories.

These and many inferior defects were obvious to the commissioners, and therefore they urged a general convention, with powers to form and offer to the consideration of the states, a system of general government that should be less exceptionable.

ceptionable. Accordingly, in May, delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia; and chose general Washington for their president. After four months deliberation, in which the clashing interests of the several states appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of the federal government. As soon as the federal constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the several states, they proceeded to take measures for collecting the sense of the people upon the propriety of adopting it. In the small state of Delaware, a convention was called in November, which, after a few days deliberation, ratified the constitution, without a dissenting voice.

In the convention of Pennsylvania, held the same month, there was a spirited opposition to the new form of government. The debates were long and interesting. Great abilities and firmness were displayed on both sides; but on the 13th of December, the constitution was received by two thirds of the members. The minority were dissatisfied, and with an obstinacy that ill became the representatives of a free people, published their reasons of dissent, which were calculated to inflame a party already violent, and which, in fact, produced some disturbances in the western parts of the state. But the opposition has since gradually subsided.

In New-Jersey, the convention which met in December were unanimous in adopting the constitution; as was likewise that of Georgia.

In Connecticut there was some opposition; but the constitution was, on the 9th of January, ratified by three fourths of the votes in convention, and the minority peaceably acquiesced in the decision.

In Massachusetts, the opposition was numerous and respectable. The convention, consisting of more than three hundred delegates, were assembled in January, and continued their debates with great candor and liberality, about five weeks. At length the question was carried for the constitution by a small minority, and the majority, with that manly condescension which becomes great minds, submitted to the measure, and united to support the government.

In New Hampshire, the federal cause was, for some time, doubtful. The greatest number of the delegates in convention were at first on the side of the opposition; and some, who might have had their objections removed by the discussion of the subject, were instructed by their constituents to reject the constitution. An adjournment was therefore moved and carried.

This gave the people opportunity to gain a farther knowledge

of the merits of the constitution, and at a second meeting of the convention, it was ratified by a respectable majority.

In Maryland, several men of abilities appeared in the opposition, and were unremitting in their endeavours to persuade the people, that the proposed plan of government was artfully calculated to deprive them of their dearest rights; yet in the convention it appeared that five-sixths of the voices were in favour of it.

In South Carolina, the opposition was respectable; but two-thirds of the convention appeared to be advocates for the constitution.

In Virginia, many of the principal characters opposed the ratification of the constitution with great abilities and industry. But after a full discussion of the subject, a small majority of a numerous convention appeared for its adoption.

In New-York, two-thirds of the delegates in the convention, were, at their first meeting, determined to reject the constitution. Here therefore the debates were the most interesting, and the event extremely doubtful. The argument was managed with uncommon address and abilities on both sides of the question. But during the session, the ninth and tenth states had acceded to the proposed plan, so that by the constitution, congress were empowered to issue an ordinance for organizing the new government. This event placed the opposition on new ground; and the expediency of uniting with the other states. The generous motives of conciliating all differences, and the danger of a rejection, influenced a respectable number, who originally opposed the constitution, to join the federal interest. The constitution was accordingly ratified by a small majority; but the ratification was accompanied here, as in Virginia, with a bill of rights, declaratory of the sense of the convention as to certain great principles, and with a catalogue of amendments, which were to be recommended to the consideration of the new congress, and the several state legislatures.

North Carolina met in convention in July, to deliberate on the new constitution. After a short session they rejected it, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-six against seventy-six. This is the first state that has, in a formal manner rejected the constitution. Upon what principle they did it, it is difficult to tell, and delicate to conjecture. The miseries that will probably arise from their separation from the union, and their internal divisions, may eventually occasion a reconsideration. It is certain that their rejection of the new plan of government, will have no effect in impeding its organization and establishment between the ratifying states.

Rhode

Rhode Island was doomed to be the sport of a blind and singular policy. The legislature, in consistency with the measures which had been before pursued, did not call a convention, to collect the sense of the state upon the proposed constitution, but in an unconstitutional and absurd manner, submitted the plan of government to the consideration of the people. Accordingly it was brought before town-meetings, and in most of them rejected. In some of the large towns, particularly in Newport and Providence, the people collected and resolved, with great propriety, that they could not take up the subject; and that the proposition for embracing or rejecting the federal constitution, could come before no tribunal but that of the *State* in convention or legislature. It is hoped that the very respectable minority, who have ever strenuously opposed the proceedings of the infatuated majority, will, by their prudent and persevering exertions, effect the salvation of the state. New York rejected the proceedings of the first Congress, and Georgia refused to send delegates; yet in two years after they were both among the foremost in supporting our independence. In two years North Carolina and Rhode Island may be as warmly engaged in supporting, as they are now in opposing the constitution. If we may judge from their present situations, they have more need of an efficient government than any state in the union.

From the moment the proceedings of the general convention at Philadelphia transpired, the public mind was exceedingly agitated, and suspended between hope and fear, until nine states had ratified their plan of a federal government. Indeed the anxiety continued until Virginia and New York had acceded to the system. But this did not prevent the demonstrations of their joy, on the accession of each state.

On the ratification in Massachusetts, the citizens of Boston, in the elevation of their joy, formed a procession in honour of the happy event, which was novel, splendid, and magnificent. This example was afterwards followed, and in some instances improved upon, in Baltimore, Charleston, Philadelphia, New Haven, Portsmouth, and New York, successively. Nothing could equal the beauty and grandeur of these exhibitions. A ship was mounted upon wheels, and drawn through the streets; mechanics erected stages, and exhibited specimens of labour in their several occupations, as they moved along the road; flags with emblems, descriptive of all the arts and of the federal union, were invented and displayed in honour of the government; multitudes in all ranks of life assembled to view the majestic

scenes; while sobriety, joy, and harmony marked the brilliant exhibitions by which the Americans celebrated the establishment of their empire\*.

With regard to the *face of the country*, the tract of territory belonging to the United States, is happily variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. Some parts are rocky, particularly New England, the north parts of New York, and New Jersey, and a broad space, including the several ridges of the long range of mountains which run south-westward through Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic, from those which fall into the Mississippi. In the parts east of the Allegany mountains, in the southern states, the country for several hundred miles in length and sixty or seventy, and sometimes more, in breadth, is level, and entirely free of stone. It has been a question agitated by the curious, whether the extensive tract of low, flat country, which fronts the several states south of New York, and extends back to the hills, has remained in its present form and situation ever since the flood; or whether it has been made by the particles of earth which have been washed down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumulation of soil from the decay of vegetable substances; or by earth washed out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf stream, and lodged on the coast; or by the recess of the ocean, occasioned by a change in some other part of the earth. Several phænomena deserve consideration in forming an opinion on this question. 1. It is a fact well known to every person of observation who has lived in, or travelled through the southern states, that marine shells and other substances which are peculiar to the sea-shore, are almost invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth. Some time ago, a gentleman, in sinking a well many miles from the sea, found, at the depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a salt marsh, that is, marsh-grass, marsh-mud, and brackish-water. In all this flat country, until you come to the hilly land, wherever you dig a well, you find the water, at a certain depth fresh and tolerably good; but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you come to a saltish or brackish water that is scarcely drinkable; and the earth dug up, resembles, in appearance and smell, that which is dug upon the edges of the salt marshes. 2. On and near the margin of the rivers, are frequently found sand hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges by the force of the water. At the bottom of some of the banks in the rivers, fifteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth, are washed out from the solid

\* Morse.



ground, logs, branches, and leaves of trees; and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears streaked with layers of logs, leaves and sand. These appearances are seen far up the rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from the sea, where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers toward the sea, the banks decrease in height, but still are formed of layers of sand, leaves and logs, some of which are entirely sound, and appear to have been suddenly covered to a considerable depth. 3. It has been observed, that the rivers in the southern states frequently vary their channels; that the swamps and low grounds are constantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that no longer ago than 1771, at Cape Lookout, on the coast of North Carolina, in about latitude 34 deg. 50 min. there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred sail of shipping at a time, in a good depth of water. It is now entirely filled up, and is solid ground. Instances of this kind are frequent along the coast. It is observable, likewise, that there is a gradual descent of about eight hundred feet, by measurement, from the foot of the mountains to the sea brink. This descent continues, as is demonstrated, by soundings, far into the sea. 4. It is worthy of observation, that the soil on the banks of the rivers is proportionably coarse or fine, according to its distance from the mountains. When you first leave the mountains, and for a considerable distance, it is observable that the soil is coarse, with a large mixture of sand and shining heavy particles. As you proceed towards the sea, the soil is less coarse, and so on in proportion as you advance the soil is finer and finer, until, finally, is deposited a soil so fine, that it consolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a particular quality, for a great part of it has intermixed with it reddish streaks and veins like a species of *Ochre*, brought probably from the *red lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and exposed to the weather, will dissolve into a fine mould without the least mixture of sand or any gritty substance whatever. Now we know that running water, when turbid, will deposit, first, the coarsest and heaviest particles, afterwards those of the several intermediate degrees of fineness, and ultimately those which are the most light and subtile; and such in fact is the general quality of the soil on the banks of the southern rivers. 5. It is a well known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the sea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable

collection of oyster shells of an uncommon size. They run in a north east and south west direction, nearly parallel with the sea coast, in three distinct ridges, which together occupy a space of seven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Savannah river, and have been traced as far south as the northern branches of the Altamaha river. They are found in such quantities, as that the indigo planters carry them away in large boat loads, for the purpose of making lime water, to be used in the manufacture of indigo. There are thousands and thousands of tons still remaining. The question is, how came they here? It cannot be supposed that they were carried by land. Neither is it probable that they were conveyed in canoes, or boats, to such a distance from the place where oysters are now found. The uncivilized natives, agreeably to their roving manner of living, would rather have removed to the sea shore, than have been at such immense labour in procuring oysters. Besides the difficulties of conveying them would have been insurmountable. They would not only have had a strong current in the river against them, an obstacle which would not have been easily overcome by the Indians, who have ever had a great aversion to labour, but could they have surmounted this difficulty, oysters, conveyed such a distance either by land or water, in so warm a climate, would have spoiled on the passage, and have become useless. The circumstance of these shells being found in such quantities, at so great a distance from the sea, can be rationally accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that the sea shore was formerly near this bed of shells, and that the ocean has since, by the operation of certain causes not yet fully investigated receded. These phenomena, it is presumed, will authorize this conclusion, That a great part of the flat country which spreads easterly of the Allegany mountains, had, in some past period, a superincumbent sea; or rather that the constant accretion of soil, from the various causes before hinted at, has forced it to retire.

As to *mountains* we may observe, that the tract of country east of Hudson's river, comprehending part of the State of New-York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in some parts mountainous; but the mountains are comparatively small, in few instances more than five or six hundred yards in height, and generally less. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this western continent, it is observable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually rises; and the height of land, in common, is about equally distant from the water on either side. The Andes in South America

rica form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

That range of mountains, of which the shining mountains are a part, begins at Mexico, and continuing northwards on the east of California, separates the waters of those numerous rivers that fall into the gulf of Mexico or the gulf of California. Thence continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South-Sea, they appear to end in about 47 and 48 deg. of north latitude; where a number of rivers rise, and empty themselves either into the South-Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas.

The Highlands between the Province of Main and the Province of Quebec, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence north, and into the Atlantic south. The Green Mountains in Vermont divide the waters which flow easterly into Connecticut river, from those which fall westerly into Lake Champlain and Hudson's river. Between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-easterly and south-westerly, nearly parallel with the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty, and two hundred miles in length. A late traveller\* observes, with respect to that part of these mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back parts of Pennsylvania, that scarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the case in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compose this immense range of mountains, have different names in different states.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the first ridge in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain; which is from one hundred and thirty, to two hundred miles from the sea. This is about four thousand feet high, measuring from its base. Between this and the North Mountain, spreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond this is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a spur of which, about latitude 36 deg. is a spring of water fifty feet deep, very cold, and as blue as indigo. From the several ridges proceed innumerable nameless branches or spurs. The Kittatinny Mountains run through the northern parts of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. All these ridges, except the Allegany, are se-

\* Mr. Evans.

parated by rivers, which appear to have forced their passages through solid rocks.

The principal ridge is the *Alleghany*, which has been descriptively called the *back bone* of the United States. The general name for these mountains, taken collectively, seems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endless Mountains*: others have called them the *Appalachian Mountains*, from a tribe of Indians, who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain, called the *Appalachikola*. But the most common, and without doubt the most proper name, is the *Alleghany Mountains*, so called from the principal ridge of the range. These mountains are not confusedly scattered and broken, rising here and there into high peaks overtopping each other, but stretch along in uniform ridges, scarcely half a mile high. They spread as you proceed south, and some of them terminate in high perpendicular cliffs. Others gradually subside into a level country, giving rise to the rivers which run southerly into the gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phenomena, from which naturalists have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimsical enough: Mr. Evans supposes that the most obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and shells, which escaped the fate of "foster animal substances, we find mixed with the "old materials, and elegantly preserved in the loose stones and "rocky bases of the highest of these hills." These appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by supposing the reality of the flood, of which Moses has given us an account. But Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge when made, or to create one new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not less credible than the latter. "These "mountains," says our author, "existed in their present "elevated height before the deluge, but not so bare of soil as "now." How Mr. Evans came to be so circumstantially acquainted with these pretended facts, it is difficult to determine, unless we suppose him to have been an Antediluvian, and to have surveyed them accurately before the convulsions of the deluge; and until we can be fully assured of this, we must be excused in not assenting to his opinion, and in adhering to the old philosophy of Moses and his advocates. We have every reason to believe that the primitive state of the earth was totally metamorphosed by the first convulsion of nature at the time of the deluge; that *the fountains of the great deep*

*deep were indeed broken up*, and that the various *strata* of the earth were dissevered, and thrown into every possible degree of confusion and disorder. Hence those vast piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth; and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vast number of fossils and other marine exuviae, which are found imbedded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the sea in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumstances attending these marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived, and died in the very beds wherein they are found; and therefore these beds must have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now, in many instances, elevated several miles above its surface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but at a very distant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *strata* to have acquired their greatest degree of cohesion and hardness; and, for the testaceous matter of marine shells to become changed to a stony substance; for, in the fissures of the lime-stone and other strata, fragments of the same shall have been frequently found adhering to each side of the cleft, in the very state in which they were originally broken; so that if the several parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very considerable time therefore must have elapsed between the chaotic state of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moses, who makes it a little upwards of sixteen hundred years. These observations are intended to shew, in one instance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reason, between the account which Moses gives us of the creation and deluge, and the present appearances of nature \*.

The *soil* of the United States, though so various that few general observations will apply, may be said to be equal to that of any country in the known world. Among the great variety of its productions are the following: Indian corn is a native grain of America, from whence all the other parts of the world have been supplied. It agrees with all climates from the equator to latitude 45. The bunched Guinea-corn is a small grain, cultivated by the negroes in the southern states, and affords a fine food for poultry. The spiked Indian corn is of a similar kind. Rice

\* Morse's American Geography. Whitehurst's Inquiry into the original State and Formation of the Earth.

was first brought into Carolina, by fir Nathaniel Johnston, and afterwards by a ship from Madagascar; till which time it was not much cultivated. It flourishes only in Georgia and the Carolinas. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to cultivate it in Virginia. The wild rice is a grain which grows in the greatest plenty in some of the interior parts of North America, and is the most valuable of all the spontaneous productions of the country. It is of a very sweet and nutritious quality, and, in future periods, may be of great service to infant colonies, in affording them a support, until, in the course of cultivation, other supplies may be obtained. This useful grain grows in the water where it is about two feet deep, and in a rich muddy soil. In its stalk, ears, and manner of growing it, very much resembles oats. It is gathered by the Indians in the following manner. About the time that it begins to turn from its milky state and to ripen, they run their canoes into the midst of it, and tying bunches of it together just below the ears, they leave it in this situation for three or four weeks, till it is perfectly ripe. At the end of this time, commonly about the last of September, they return to the river, and placing their canoes close to the bunches of rice, in such position as to receive the grain when it falls, they beat it out with pieces of wood formed for that purpose. Having done this, they dry it with smoke, and then tread or rub off the outside husk, after which it is fit for use.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats, are cultivated throughout the states, some few parts excepted. In Pennsylvania is a kind of grain called spelts, which grows much like wheat. The grain, however, is better covered, and is good food for horses. The flour made from it is very white, and is frequently mixed with wheat flour for bread. This grain might probably be successfully introduced into the New England states. Potatoes are said to have been originally produced in America. They are of many kinds, and are raised in great quantities. The sweet, or Carolina potatoe, does not thrive well in northern climates, nor do other kinds in the lower parts of the southern states. The culinary roots and plants are beets, carrots, parsnips, turneps, radishes, peas, beans, cabbages, cauliflowers, endive, celery, angelica, lettuce, asparagus, peppergrafs, leeks, onions, water-melons, musk-melons, cantelopes, which are a species of the musk-melon, but much superior in richness and flavour; cucumbers, mandrakes, pumpkins, squashes, &c. Besides these there are several other roots, and plants of a medicinal kind, such as elecampane, spikenard, or petty-morrel, farsaparilla, liquorice, snake-root, gold-thread

bread, solomon's-seal, devils-bit, horse-radish, and blood-root.

The gold-thread is of the vine kind, and grows in swamps. The roots spread themselves just under the surface of the morass, and are easily drawn out by handfuls. They resemble a large entangled skein of silk, and are of a bright yellow. It is exceedingly bitter in taste, and is an excellent remedy for a forenet in the mouth. Devils-bit is a wild plant that has the print of teeth in its roots. The Indians have a tradition, that this root was once an universal remedy for all diseases; but some evil spirit, envying mankind the possession of so efficacious a medicine, gave the root a bite, which deprived it of great part of its virtue: hence its name. Blood-root is a sort of plantain that springs out of the ground in six or seven long rough leaves, the veins of which are red; the root of it is like a small pea; when broken, the inside is of a deeper colour than the outside, and distills several drops of juice that looks like blood. This juice is a strong, but dangerous emetic.

Of the various aromatic and other kinds of herbs are balm, savory, thyme, sage, balsam, sweet majoram, hyssop, tansey, mint, penny-oyal, fennel, yarrow, may-weed, gurgit, skunk-cabbage, or poke, wake-robin, bittany, scabious, mulien, wild-pease, mouse-ear, wild indigo, cat-mint, or, as it is sometimes called, catnip, nettles, cinque-foil, eye-bright, fennel, plantain of several kinds, maiden-hair, burdock, field-dock, rock-liverwort, noble-liverwort, blood-wort, mother-wort, wild beans, ground-ivy, water-cresses, &c.

Apples are the most common fruit in the United States. They grow in the greatest plenty and variety in the northern and middle states, and in the interior, but not in the maritime parts of the southern. In the low country of Georgia, the Carolinas, and some other states, grows a sort of wild crab-apple. The blossoms are fragrant, the fruit is small and sour, and makes an excellent preserve or sweet meat. Besides apples, there are pears, peaches, quinces, apricots, nectarines, plums, cherries of many kinds, currants, gooseberries, blackberries, bilberries, whortl berries, strawberries, mulberries, cranberries, &c. Of the nuts, there are chestnuts, black wal-nuts, hiccory-nuts, butter-nuts, beech-nuts, hazle-nuts, filberts, and illinois-nuts, or pecan-nuts. These fruits grow in great abundance and perfection in almost every part of North America. Figs, oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, are not natural to any state north of the Carolinas. Grapes of several sorts grow spontaneously in several provinces.

With

With regard to *population*; from the best accounts that can at present be obtained, there are, within the limits of the United States, three million eighty-three thousand and six hundred souls. This number, which is rapidly increasing, both by emigrations from Europe, and by natural population, is composed of people of almost all nations, languages, characters, and religions. The greater part, however, are descended from the English; and, for the sake of distinction, are called Anglo-Americans.

The natural genius of Americans, says the celebrated geographer \* of that country, has suffered much in the descriptions of some ingenious and eloquent European writers. The assertion of the Abbé Raynal, that "America has not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or a single science," produced the following reply from one of their learned writers †.

"When we shall have existed as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true, we will enquire from what unfriendly causes it has proceeded, that the other countries of Europe, and quarters of the earth, should not have inscribed any name in the roll of poets? In war, we have produced a *Washington*, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries; whose name will triumph over time, and will, in future ages, assume its just station amongst the most celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten which would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature. In physics, we have produced a *Franklin*, than whom no one of the present age has made more important discoveries, nor has enriched philosophy with more ingenious solutions of the phenomena of nature. We have supposed Mr. Rittenhouse second to no Astronomer living; that, in genius, he must be the first, because he is self-taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived, from the creation to this day. As in philosophy and war, so in government, in oratory, in painting, in the plastic art, we might shew that America, though but a child of yesterday, has already given hopeful proofs of genius, as well of nobler kinds, which arouse the best feelings of man, which

\* Mr. Morse. † Mr. Jefferson.



call him into action, which substantiate his freedom, and conduct him to happiness, as of the subordinate, which serve to amuse him. We therefore suppose, that this reproach is as unjust as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuses which adorn the present age, America contributes its full share. For, comparing it with those countries, where genius is most cultivated, where are the most excellent models for art, and scaffoldings for the attainment of science, as France and England, for instance, we calculate thus: The United States contain three millions of inhabitants; France twenty millions; and the British islands ten. We produce a Washington, a Franklin, a Rittenhouse. France then should have had a dozen in each of these lines, and Great Britain half that number equally eminent\*.

The *literature* of the United States is very flourishing. Their progress in the art of war, in the science of government, in philosophy and astronomy, in poetry, and the various liberal arts and sciences, has, for so young a country, been astonishing. Colleges are instituted in all the states north of North Carolina excepting Delaware, and liberal provision is making for their establishment in the others. These colleges are generally well furnished with libraries, apparatus, instructors and students. The late important revolution has called to historic fame many noble and distinguished characters, who might otherwise have slept in oblivion.

But while the fair side of the character of Federo-Americans is exhibited, their faults must not be forgotten. It has been justly observed, that "if there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and, with the other, brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves." Though much has been written of late to shew the injustice and iniquity of enslaving the Africans, I shall here introduce a few observations respecting the influence of slavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From repeated and accurate calculations it has been found, that the expence of maintaining a slave, especially if we include the purchase money, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man. Influenced by the powerful motive of gain, he is at least twice as profitable to the employer as a slave. Slavery is the bane of industry. It renders labour among the whites not only unfashionable but disreputable. Industry is the offspring of necessity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes this necessity; and indolence, which strikes at the root of all social and political happiness, is the unhappy consequence.

\* Morfe.

These observations, without adding any thing upon the injustice of the practice, shew that slavery is impolitic. Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wenches in many, perhaps I may say in most instances, are nurses to their mistresses children. The infant babe as soon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurse, and perhaps seldom or never tastes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and constantly associating with the negroes, too often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals; and contract a *negroish* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To these may be added the observations of a native\* on the unhappy influence of slavery, on the manners of our people. "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals, undepraved by such circumstances: and with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another. With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in warm climates no man will labour for himself, who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, very few indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God?"

\* Mr. Jefferson.

Under the federal government which is now established, there is reason to believe that all slaves in the United States will in time be emancipated, in a manner most consistent with their own happiness, and the true interest of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by transporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in some part of our own territory, and extending to them our alliance and protection until they shall have acquired strength sufficient for their own defence; or by incorporation with the whites; or in some other way, remains to be determined. All these methods are attended with difficulties\*.

The first would be cruel; the second dangerous; and the latter disagreeable and unnatural. Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinction which nature has made; besides many other circumstances which would tend to divide them into parties, and produce convulsions, are objections against retaining and incorporating the blacks with the citizens of the several states. But justice and humanity demand that these difficulties should be surmounted.

In the middle and northern states there are comparatively but few slaves; and of course there is less difficulty in giving them their freedom. Societies for the manumission of slaves have been instituted in Philadelphia and New-York; and laws have been enacted, and other measures taken in the New-England states to accomplish the same purpose. The *Friends*, (commonly called Quakers) have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodness in setting on foot and their vigorous exertions in executing, this truly humane and benevolent design.

The English language is universally spoken in the United States. It is spoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New-England, by persons of education; and, excepting some few corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and southern states, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language in many instances is corrupted, especially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the states, which for political as well as other reasons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and eminent characters. Intermingled with the Anglo-Americans are the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, Swedes and Jews; all these, except the Scotch and Irish, retain, in a greater or less degree, their native language, in which they perform their pub-

\* Morse.

lic worship, converse, and transact their business with each other.

The six following chapters contain short histories of each of the United States.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of the Provinces of New England.*

NEW England is divided into four states, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Its metropolis, Boston, is a large handsome and well built city, standing on a peninsula about nine miles from the mouth of Massachusetts's bay. It has a noble pier, near two thousand feet in length; along which, on the north side, extends a row of warehouses for the merchants, and to this pier ships of the greatest burthen may come and unload, without the help of boats. The greatest part of the town lies round the harbour, in the shape of a half moon; the country beyond it rising gradually, and affording a delightful prospect from the sea. The head of the pier joins the principal street of the town, which is like most of the others, spacious and well built. Boston contains, at present, about eighteen thousand inhabitants; fifty years ago they were more numerous. The surprising increase of Newbury port, Salem, Marblehead, Cape Anne, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and the island of Nantucket, hath checked the growth and trade of the capital. The trade of Boston was, however, so very considerable, that, in the year 1768, twelve hundred sail entered or cleared at the Custom-house there. Both the town and trade of Boston greatly suffered during the war with Great Britain; but since that time the trade of Boston has again considerably increased.

New England has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by a turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not succeed, and for some time after, there were only a few adven-

traders who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America in the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. Some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in the new hemisphere. They, therefore, purchased in 1621, the charter of the English North-Virginia company; for they were not reduced to such a state of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till prosperity became the reward of their virtues. Forty-one families, making in all one hundred and twenty persons, set out under the guidance of enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either by cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive, for some time, by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had acquired under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones, all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds, with domestic animals, and with every assistance they wanted. At first these succours arrived but slowly; but the persecution of the puritans in England increased, as usual, the number of proselytes to such a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been deprived of their preferment on account of their opinions, nor those sectaries influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons

of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a state of subordination; or rather a severity of manners had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

The inhabitants of New-England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. Not that their charter had not authorized them to establish any mode of government they might chuse, but these enthusiasts were not agreed among themselves upon the plan of their republic; and government did not pay sufficient attention to them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation, and this great work, which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except he were a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. Marriages, however, were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at two shillings and eleven pence halfpenny per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them; and Europeans were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But, at the same time, that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might be allowed to swear by paying a penalty of eleven pence three farthings, and to break the sabbath for two pounds nineteen shillings and nine pence three farthings. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was also inflicted on Roman catholic priests, who should return to the colony after they had been banished; and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded,

branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was liable to pay a considerable fine.

Those unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This was considered as blasphemy by those very divines, who had rather chosen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural propensity of the human heart which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital punishment on all who dissented. Those who were either convicted, or even suspected of entertaining sentiments of toleration, were exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and as New-England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony.

"It is a circumstance universally acknowledged, that the custom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral persons and of the savage Indians, can only have been introduced into England, but in sacrilegious contempt of the express command of God, who declares that it is a shameful practice for any man who has the least care for his soul to wear long hair. As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious persons; we, the magistrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expressly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious custom of letting the hair grow; a custom which we look upon to be very indecent and dishonest, which horribly disguises men, and is offensive to modest and sober persons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being justly incensed against this scandalous custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request all the elders of our continent, zealously to shew their aversion to this odious practice; to exert all their power to put a stop to it, and especially to take care that

the members of their church be not infected with it; in order that those persons, who, notwithstanding these rigorous prohibitions, and the means of correction that shall be used on this account, shall still persist in this custom, may have both God and man at the same time against them."

This severity, which a man exercises against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and which makes him first the victim, then the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who, in the midst of tortures and ignominy, praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence. They caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs? This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his restoration, had introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could have possibly secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that sir Henry Vane who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obsti-

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nate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free-will. This dispute upon these points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town in New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her, by harsh treatment, to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions, which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, casually named, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the most dignified employments of the state, were no security against the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fanaticism, wickedness and vengeance united, selected their victims at pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates,

strates, tired out with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they tolerated; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent quitted a country stained with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained wished only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected, when, on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that Heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased, like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are expelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation, and all the puritans of New England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

But though the colony has renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some remains, if not of intolerance, at least of severity, which reminds us of those melancholy days in which it took its rise.

*New Hampshire* is divided into counties and townships. Its metropolis is Portsmouth, a town handsomely built and pleasantly situated. This state, embosoming a number of very high mountains, and lying in the neighbourhood of

others, whose towering summits are covered with snow and ice, three quarters of the year, is intensely cold in the winter season. The heat of summer is great, but of short duration. The cold braces the constitution, and renders the labouring people healthy and robust. There is no characteristic difference between the inhabitants of this and the New England states. The ancient inhabitants of New Hampshire were emigrants from England. Their posterity, mixed with emigrants from Massachusetts, fill the lower and middle towns. Emigrants from Connecticut compose the largest part of the inhabitants of the western towns, adjoining Connecticut river. Slaves there are none. Negroes, who were never numerous in New Hampshire, are all free by the first article of the Bill of Rights.

The commonwealth of Massachusetts is divided into fourteen counties. In Boston, the capital of this province (and, as we have before observed, of all New England) there are seventy-nine streets, thirty-eight lanes, and twenty-one alleys, exclusive of squares and courts. There are also eighty wharfs and quays, very convenient for vessels. Next to Pennsylvania, this state has the greatest number of societies for the promotion of useful knowledge and human happiness; and as they are founded on the broad basis of *benevolence* and *charity*, they cannot fail to prosper. These institutions, which are fast increasing in almost every state in the union, are so many evidences of the advanced and advancing state of civilization and improvement in this country. They prove likewise, that a free republican government, like ours, is of all others the most happily calculated to promote a general diffusion of useful knowledge, and the most favourable to the benevolent and humane feelings of the human heart.

*Rhode Island* is divided into five counties. The inhabitants are chiefly of English extraction. Newport and Providence are the two principal towns. It is an exceedingly pleasant and healthy country; and is celebrated for its fine women. Travellers, with propriety, call it the *Eden* of America.

*Connecticut* is divided into eight counties, and is the most populous in proportion to its extent of any of the thirteen states. It is laid out in small farms, from fifty to three or four hundred acres each, which are held by the farmers in fee simple, and are generally cultivated as well as the nature of the soil will admit. The state is chequered with innumerable roads or highways, crossing each other in

every direction. A traveller, in any of these roads, even in the most unsettled parts of the state, will seldom pass more than two or three miles without finding a house or cottage, and a farm under such improvements as to afford the necessaries for the support of a family. The whole state resembles a well cultivated garden; which, with that degree of industry that is necessary to happiness, produces the necessaries and conveniences of life in great plenty.

The people of *Connecticut* are remarkably fond of having all their disputes, even those of the most trivial kind, settled according to law. The prevalence of this litigious spirit, affords employment and support for a numerous body of lawyers.

With regard to the government of the provinces of New England, there were originally three sorts of governments established by the English on the continent of America, viz. royal governments, charter governments, and proprietary governments. A royal government was properly so called, because the colony was immediately dependent on the crown, and the king remained sovereign of the colony; he appointed the governor, council, and officers of state; and the people only elected the representatives, as in England; such were the governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, Virginia, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, East and West Florida, the West Indies, and the island of St. John's. A charter government was so called, because the company incorporated by the king's charter, were in a manner vested with sovereign authority, to establish what sort of government they thought fit; and these charter governments have generally transferred their authority to the people; for, in such governments, or rather corporations, the free-men did not only choose their representatives, but annually chose their governor, council, and magistrates, and made laws without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge, of the king; and were under no other restraint than this, that they enacted no laws contrary to the laws of England; if they did, their charters were liable to be forfeited. Such, as we have already observed, were the governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut in New England, and such was that of the Massachusetts formerly, though some alterations were afterwards made in it. Such likewise were those of the two Carolinas. The third kind of government was the *proprietary*, properly so called, because the proprietor was invested with sovereign authority: he appointed the governor, council, and magistrates, and the representatives were summoned in his name; and by their advice he enacted laws without the concurrence of the crown

crown; but, by a late statute, the proprietor was to have the king's consent in the appointing a governor, when he did not reside in the plantation in person, and of a deputy-governor, when he did. And all the governors of the plantations were liable to be called to an account for their administration, by the court of King's Bench. The only proprietary governors lately subsisting, were those of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

But the government of New England has been in great measure changed, in consequence of the revolt of the colonies from the authority of Great Britain. A constitution, or ~~form~~ of government for the commonwealth of Massachusetts, including a declaration of rights, was agreed to, and established by the inhabitants of that province, and took place in October 1780. In the preamble to this it was declared, that the end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and that whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their prosperity and happiness. They expressed their gratitude to the great Legislator of the Universe, for having afforded them, in the course of his providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other; and of forming a new constitution of civil government for themselves and their posterity. They declared that it was the right, as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons to worship the Supreme Being; and that no subject should be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he did not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

It was also enacted, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, should, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. That all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers, should, if he required it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there were any on  
whose

whose instructions he attended; otherwise it might be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said monies should be raised. That every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, should be equally protected by the law; and that no subordination of any sect or denomination to another, should ever be established.

It was likewise declared, that as all power resided originally in the people, and was derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, and their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. That no subject should be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. That the legislature should not make any law subjecting any person to a capital or infamous punishment, except for the government of the army or navy, without trial by jury. That the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; and that it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in that commonwealth. That the people have a right to keep, and to bear arms, for the common defence; but that, as in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and that the military power should always be held in an exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

It was likewise enacted, that the department of the legislation should be formed of two branches, a senate, and a house of representatives, each of which should have a negative on the other. That the senators, and the members of the house of representatives should be elected annually, and that every male person being twenty-one years of age, or upwards, who had resided in any particular town in the commonwealth for the space of one year, and having a freehold estate within the said town, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds, should have a right to vote for senators and representatives of the district of which he was an inhabitant. It was likewise enacted, that there should be a supreme executive magistrate, who should be styled the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and also a lieutenant-governor, both of whom should be chosen annually, by the whole body of electors in the commonwealth, and assisted by  
nine

nine counsellors, chosen by ballot, out of the senate. The secretary, treasurer, receiver general, notaries public, and naval officers, are chosen annually by the senators and representatives, or general court. The governor has a negative on bills sent for assent from the general court, but has no control on their choice of officers.

The state of Rhode Island continues to admit their original charter as the rule of their government, because it contains an ample grant of all powers legislative, executive, and judicial.

The constitution of New Hampshire, which was adopted in 1784, is taken almost verbatim, from that of Massachusetts. The principal differences, except such as arise from local circumstances, are the following. The titles of the constitutions, and of the supreme magistrates in each state, are different. In one it is *governor* of the *commonwealth* of Massachusetts; in the other *president* of the *state* of New Hampshire. In each state, the supreme magistrate has the title of *His Excellency*. The president of New Hampshire, like the governor of Massachusetts has not the power of negating all bills and resolves of the senate and house of representatives, and of preventing their passing into laws, unless approved of by two thirds of the members present. In New Hampshire the president of the state presides in the senate; in Massachusetts the senate choose their own president. There are no other differences worth mentioning, except it be in the mode of appointing militia officers, in which New Hampshire has greatly the advantage of Massachusetts.

It is difficult to say what the constitution of Connecticut is. Contented with the form of government, which originated from the charter of Charles II. A. D. 1662. the people have not been disposed to run the hazard of framing a new constitution since the declaration of independence. They have tacitly adopted their old charter as the ground of civil government, so far as it is applicable to an independent people. The mode of electing the governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer and secretary is as follows. The freemen in the several towns meet on Monday the next after the first Tuesday in April annually, and give in their votes for the persons they choose for the said offices respectively, with their names written on a piece of paper, which are received and sealed up by a constable in open meeting, the votes for each office by themselves, with the name of the town and office written on the outside. These votes, thus sealed, are sent to the general assembly in May, and there counted by a committee from  
both

both houses. All freemen are eligible to any office in government. In choosing assistants, twenty persons are nominated, by the vote of each freeman, at the freeman's meeting for choosing representatives in September annually. These votes are sealed up, and sent to the general assembly in October, and are there counted by a committee of both houses, and the twenty persons who have the most votes stand in nomination, out of which number the twelve who have the greatest number of votes, given by the freemen at their meeting in April, are, in May, declared assistants in the manners above mentioned. The qualifications of freemen, are maturity in years—quiet and peaceable behaviour—a civil conversation, and freehold estate to the value of forty shillings per annum, or forty pounds personal estate in the list, certified by the select men of the town; it is necessary, also, that they take the oath of fidelity to the state. Their names are enrolled in the town clerk's office, and they continue freemen for life, unless disfranchised by sentence of the superior court, on conviction of misdemeanour.

*New England* is the most *populous* part of the United States. It contains, at least, eight hundred and twenty three thousand souls. One fifth of these are fencible men. New England then, should any great and sudden emergency require it, could furnish an army of *one hundred and sixty-four thousand men*. The great body of these are landholders and cultivators of the soil. The former attaches them to their country; the latter, by making them strong and healthy, enables them to defend it. The boys are early taught the use of arms, and make the best of soldiers. Few countries on earth, of equal extent and population, can furnish a more *formidable army* than this part of the union. New England may, with propriety, be called a nursery of men, whence are annually transplanted, into other parts of the United States, thousands of its natives. The state of Vermont, which is but of yesterday; and contains about one hundred thousand souls, has received more inhabitants from Connecticut, than from any other state; and yet between the years 1774 and 1782, notwithstanding her numerous emigrations to Vermont, Susquehannah, and other places, and the depopulation occasioned by seven years bloody war, it is found, from actual census of the inhabitants in the year before mentioned, that they have increased from one hundred and ninety-seven, eight hundred and fifty-six, (their number in 1774), to two hundred and nine thousand one hundred and fifty, their number in 1782. Vast numbers of the New Englanders, since the war, have emigrated into the northern parts of New York, into Kentucky  
and



and the western territory, and into Georgia; and some are scattered into every estate, and every town of note in the union.

The inhabitants of New England are almost universally of English descent, and it is owing to this circumstance, and to the great and general attention that has been paid to education, that the English language has been preserved among them so free of corruption. It is true, that from laziness, inattention, and want of acquaintance with mankind, many of the people in the country have accustomed themselves to use some *peculiar phrases*, and to pronounce certain words in a flat, drawling manner. Hence foreigners pretend they know a New England man from his manner of speaking. But the same may be said with regard to a Pennsylvanian, a Virginian, or a Carolinian; for all have some phrases and modes of pronunciation peculiar to themselves, which distinguish them from their neighbours.

The New Englanders are generally tall, stout, and well built. They glory, and perhaps with justice, in possessing that spirit of freedom, which induced their ancestors to leave their native country, and to brave the dangers of the ocean, and the hardships of settling in a wilderness. Their education, laws, and situation, serve to inspire them with high notions of liberty. Their jealousy is awakened at the first motion toward an invasion of their rights. They are, indeed, often jealous to excess; a circumstance which is a fruitful source of imaginary grievances, and of innumerable groundless suspicions, and unjust complaints against government. But these ebullitions of jealousy, though censurable, and productive of some political evils, shew that the essence of true liberty exists in New England; for *jealousy is the guardian of liberty*, and a characteristic of free republicans. A law respecting the descent of estates that are generally held in fee simple, which for substance is the same in all the New England states, is the chief foundation and protection of this liberty\*. By this law, the possessions of the father are to be equally divided among all the children, excepting the eldest son who has a double portion. In this way is preserved that happy mediocrity among the people, which, by promoting oeconomy and industry, removes, from them temptations to luxury, and forms them to habits of sobriety and temperance. At the same time, their industry and frugality exempt them from want, and from the necessity of submitting to a *encroachment* on their liberties.

New England learning is more generally diffused

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among

among all ranks of men than in most other parts of the globe. A person of mature age, who cannot both read and write, is rarely to be found. The people from their childhood form habits of canvassing public affairs, and commence politicians. This naturally leads them to be very inquisitive. It is with knowledge as with riches; the more a man has, the more he wishes to obtain. His desire has no bound. This desire after knowledge, in a greater or less degree, prevails among all classes in New England; and from their various modes of expressing it, some of which are blunt and familiar, bordering on impertinence, ~~strangers~~ have been induced to mention impertinent inquisitiveness as a distinguishing characteristic of New England people. But this is true only with regard to that class who have confined themselves to domestic life, and have not had opportunity of mingling with the world: and such people are not peculiar to New England; they compose a great part of the citizens of every state. This class, it is true, is numerous in New England, where agriculture is the principal employment. But will not a candid and ingenuous mind ascribe this inquisitiveness in these honest and well meaning people to a *laudable*, rather than to a censurable disposition?

Before the late war, which introduced into this country a flood of corruptions with many improvements, the sabbath was observed with great strictness; no unnecessary travelling, no secular business, no visiting, no diversions were permitted on that sacred day. They considered it as consecrated to divine worship, and were generally punctual and serious in their attendance upon it. Their laws were strict in guarding the sabbath against every innovation. Since the war, however, a catholic, tolerant spirit, occasioned by a more enlarged intercourse with mankind, has greatly increased, and is becoming universal; and if they do not break the proper bound, and liberalize away all true religion, of which there is much danger, they will counteract that strong propensity in human nature, which leads men to vibrate from one extreme to its opposite.

"There is one distinguishing characteristic in the religious character of this people," says Mr. Morse, "which we must not omit to mention; and that is, the custom of annually celebrating fasts and thanksgivings. In the spring, the several governors issue their proclamations, appointing a day to be religiously observed in fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout their respective states, in which the predominating vices, that particularly call for humiliation, are enumerated. In autumn after harvest, that glad-some era in the husbandman's life, the governors again issue their

their proclamations, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, enumerating the public blessings received in the course of the foregoing year. This pious custom originated with their venerable ancestors, the first settlers in New England; and has been handed down as sacred, through the successive generations of their posterity. A custom so rational, and so happily calculated to cherish in the minds of the people a sense of their dependence on the *Great Benefactor* of the world for all their blessings, it is hoped will ever be sacredly preserved.

There is a class of people in New-England of the baser sort, who, averse to honest industry, have recourse to knavery for subsistence. Skilled in all the arts of dishonesty, with the assumed face and frankness of integrity, they go about, like wolves in sheep's clothing, with a design to defraud. These people, enterprising from necessity, have not confined their knavish tricks to New England. Other states have felt the effects of their villainy. Hence they have characterised the New Englanders as a knavish, artful, and dishonest people. But that conduct which distinguishes only a small class of people in any nation or state, ought not to be indiscriminately ascribed to all, or be suffered to stamp their national character. In New England there is as great a proportion of honest and industrious citizens as in any of the United States.

“ The people of New England generally obtain their estates by hard and persevering labour; by consequence, they know their value, and spend with frugality. Yet in no country do the indigent and unfortunate fare better. Their laws oblige every town to provide a competent maintenance for their poor, and the necessitous stranger is protected, and relieved from their humane institutions. It may in truth be said, that in no part of the world are the people happier, better furnished with the necessaries and conveniences of life, or more independent than the farmers in New England. As the great body of the people are hardy, independent freeholders, their manners are, as they ought to be, congenial to their employment, plain, simple, and unpolished. Strangers are received and entertained among them with a great deal of artless sincerity, friendly, and unfeigned hospitality. Their children, those imitative creatures, to whose education particular attention is paid, early imbibe the manners and habits of those around them; and the stranger, with pleasure, notices the honest and decent respect that is paid him by the children as he passes through the country.

“ As the people, by representation, make their own laws and appoint their own officers, they cannot be oppressed; and living under governments, which have few lucrative places, they have few motives to bribery, corrupt canvassings, or intrigue. Real abilities and a moral character unblemished, are the qualifications requisite in the view of most people for offices of public trust. The expression of a wish to be promoted, is the direct way to be disappointed.

“ The inhabitants of New England are generally fond of the arts, and have cultivated them with great success. Their colleges have flourished beyond any others in the United States. The illustrious characters they have produced, who have distinguished themselves in politics, law, divinity, the mathematics and philosophy, natural and civil history, and in the fine arts, particularly in poetry, evince the truth of these observations.

“ Many of the women in New England are handsome. They generally have fair, fresh, and healthful countenances, mixed with much female softness and delicacy. These who have had the advantages of a good education, (and they are considerably numerous) are genteel, easy, and agreeable in their manners, and are sprightly and sensible in conversation. They are early taught to manage domestic concerns with neatness and œconomy. Ladies of the first rank and fortune make it a part of their daily business to superintend the affairs of the family. Employment at the needle, in cookery, and at the spinning-wheel, with them is honourable. Idleness, even in those of independent fortunes, is universally disreputable. The women in the country manufacture the greatest part of the clothing of their families. Their linen and woollen cloths are strong and decent. Their butter and cheese are not inferior to any in the world.

“ Dancing is the principal and favourite amusement in New England; and of this the young people of both sexes are extremely fond. Gaming is practised by none but those who cannot, or rather do not, find a reputable employment. The gamester, the horse-jockey, and the knave, are equally despised, and their company is avoided by all who would sustain fair and irreproachable characters. The odious and inhuman practices of duelling, cock-fighting and horse-racing, are scarcely known here. The athletic and healthy diversion of cricket, foot-ball, quoits, wrestling, jumping, hopping, foot-races and prison-base, are universally practised in the country, and some of them in the most populous places, and by people of almost all ranks. Squirrel hunting is a noted diversion in country-places, where this kind of game is plentiful. Some divert themselves

themselves with fox hunting, and others with the more profitable sports of fishing and duck hunting; and in the frontier settlements, where deer and fur game abound, the inhabitants make a lucrative sport of hunting them. In the winter season, while the ground is covered with snow, which is commonly two or three months, sledging is the general diversion. A great part of the families are furnished with horses and sledges. The young people collect in parties, and, with a great deal of sociability, resort to a place of rendezvous, where they regale themselves for a few hours with dancing and a social supper, and then retire. Their diversions, as well as all others, are many times carried to excess. To these excesses, and a sudden exposure to extreme cold after the exercise of dancing, physicians have ascribed the consumptions, which are so frequent among the young people in New England."

With regard to *trade*, the ocean and the forest afford the two principal articles of export. Cod-fish, mackarel, shad, salmon, and other fish—whale-oil and whale-bone—masts, boards, scantling, staves, hoops, and shingles, have been and are still exported in large quantities. The annual amount of cod and other fish, for foreign exportation, including the profits arising from the whale fishery, is estimated at upwards of half a million. Besides the articles enumerated, they export from the various parts of New England ships built for sale, horses, mules, live stock, pickled beef and pork, pot-ash, pearl-ash, flax-seed, butter and cheese.

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of New England and New Jersey, a pious and successful missionary \*, who was well acquainted with it, informs us, that after the coming of the white people, the Indians who once held a plurality of deities, supposed there were only three, because they saw people of three kinds of complexions, viz. English, negroes, and themselves. It is a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that the same God, who made us, did not make them; but that they were created after the white people: and it is probable they supposed their God gained some special skill, by seeing the white people made, and so made them better: for it is certain they look upon themselves and their method of living, which they say their God expressly prescribed for them, as vastly preferable to the white people and their methods. With regard to a future state of existence, many of them imagine that the *chichung*, that is the shadow, or what survives the body, will, at death, go southward, and in an unknown, but curious place, will enjoy some kind of happiness, such

Mr. Brainard.

as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they suppose will contribute much to their happiness in the next state is, that they shall never be weary of those entertainments. Those who have any notion about rewards and punishments in a future state, seem to imagine that most will be happy, and that those that are not so, will be punished only with *privation*, being only excluded from the walls of the good world where happy spirits reside. These rewards and punishments, they suppose to depend entirely upon their behaviour towards mankind; and have no reference to any thing which relates to the worship of the Supreme Being.

Besides the creator of the world, there is another power; which they call Hobbamoeko, in English, the Devil, of whom they stand in great awe, and worship merely from a principle of fear.

The first *duel* in New England, was fought with sword and dagger between two servants. Neither of them were killed, but both were wounded. For this disgraceful offence, they were formally tried before the whole company, and sentenced to have their heads and feet tied together, and so to be twenty-four hours without meat or drink! Such, however, was the painfulness of their situation, and their piteous entreaties to be released, that, upon promise of better behaviour in future, they were soon released by the governor. Such was the origin, and such, I may almost venture to add, was the termination of the odious practice of duelling in New England, for there have been very few duels fought there since. The true method of preventing crimes is to render them disgraceful. Upon this principle, can there be invented a punishment better calculated to exterminate this criminal practice than the one already mentioned \*?

Mors.

## C H A P. III.

*Of New York and New Jersey.*

**N**EW YORK, which is contiguous to New England, being bounded on the east by this principal settlement, and on the west by New Jersey, occupies, at first, a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea shore, and, insensibly enlarging, extends to the north above an hundred and fifty miles. This country was discovered by Henry Hudson, that celebrated navigator, who, A. D. 1609. after having made vain attempts, under the patronage of the Dutch East India company, to discover a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery, that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after reconnoitring the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam, from whence he sailed.

According to the European system, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It was discovered by a man in their service, who took possession of it in their name, and gave up to them any personal right he might have in it. His being an Englishman did not, in the least, invalidate these incontrovertible titles. It must therefore have occasioned great surprise, when James the First asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent some persons to lay the foundation A. D. 1610. of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here; and this fortunate beginning seemed to promise great success, when the country was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and successes of Louis the Fourteenth have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was already extending its flourishing trade to all parts of the

world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and œconomy, superseded them in all the considerable markets of the universe. Every effort she made to come in competition, turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, while all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants, and resolved that what they could not obtain by industry should be secured to them by force. Charles the Second, notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him the prospect of acquiring the riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions, and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of August, with three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea, as well as every hope, of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the English by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set these two maritime powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since, under the name of New York.

It took its name from the duke of York, to whom it was given by the king. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles, which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, instituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was



was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government \*..

By the constitution of the state of New York, lately established, the supreme legislative power was vested in two separate and distinct bodies of men; the one to be called, "*The Assembly of the States of New York*," to consist of seventy members annually chosen by ballot; and the other, "*The Senate of the State of New York*," to consist of twenty-four for four years, who together are to form the legislature, and to meet once at least, in every year, for the dispatch of business. The supreme executive power is to be vested in a governor, who is to continue in office three years, assisted by four counsellors chosen by and from the senate. Every male inhabitant of full age, who shall possess a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, or have rented a tenement of the yearly value of forty shillings, and shall have paid taxes to the estate for six months preceding the day of election, is entitled to vote for members of the assembly; but those who vote for the governor, and the members of the senate, are to be possessed of freeholds of the value of one hundred pounds. The delegates to the congress, the judges, &c. are to be chosen by ballot of the senate and assembly.

The city of New York is inhabited principally by merchants, mechanics, shop-keepers, and tradesmen, composed of almost all nations and religions. They are generally respectable in their several professions, and sustain the reputation of honest, punctual, fair dealers. The manners and character of the inhabitants of every colony or state, will take their colouring in a greater or less degree, from the peculiar manners of the first settlers. It is much more natural for emigrants to a settlement to adopt the customs of the original inhabitants, than the contrary, even though the emigrants should, in a length of time, become the most numerous. Hence it is that the neatness, parsimony, and industry of the Dutch were early imitated by the first English settlers in the province, and, until the revolution, formed a distinguishing trait in their provincial character. It is still discernible, though in a much less degree, and will probably continue visible many years to come.

New York is the gayest place in America. The ladies, and the richness and brilliancy of their dress are not equalled in any city in the United States; not even in Charleston, South Carolina, which has heretofore been called the centre of the *Beau Monde*. The ladies, however, are not solely

employed in attentions to dress. There are many who are studious to add to their brilliant external accomplishments, the more brilliant and lasting accomplishments of the mind. Nor have they been unsuccessful; for New York can boast of great numbers of refined taste, whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms. Tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with good œconomy and singular neatness.

The situation of New York, with respect to foreign markets, has decidedly the preference to any of the states. It has, at all seasons of the year, a short and easy access to the ocean. "In our traffic with other places," says a native of this state, "the balance is almost constantly in our favour\*." Their exports to the West Indies are biscuit, peas, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, staves, horses, sheep, butter, cheese, pickled oysters, beef and pork. But wheat is the staple commodity of the state, of which no less than 677,700 bushels were exported, between A. D. 1775. sides 2,555 tons of bread, and 2,828 tons of flour. West India goods are received in return for these articles.

The ministers of religion of every denomination in the state, are supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, raised generally by subscription, or by a tax upon the pews, except the Dutch churches in New York, Albany and Kingston, which have large estates confirmed by charter.

*New Jersey* is bounded on the east by New York, on the west by Pennsylvania, on the north by Hudson's river, and on the south east by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of 120 miles. The Swedes A. D. 1639. were the first Europeans who settled in this region. Neglected by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance, they were obliged, at the end of sixteen years, to surrender to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he separated them, and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites. Sir George Carteret and lord Berkeley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculative persons, accordingly, bought large districts

\* Smith's History of New York.

of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one.

By the new charter of rights established by the provincial congress, the government of A. D. 1776. New Jersey is now vested in a governor, legislative council, and general assembly. The members of the legislative council are to be freeholders, and worth at least one thousand pounds real and personal estate; and the members of the general assembly to be worth five hundred pounds. All inhabitants worth fifty pounds are entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly, and for all other public officers. The elections of the governor, legislative council, and general assembly, are to be annual; the governor and lieutenant-governor to be chosen *en am* and by the general assembly and council. The judges of the supreme court are chosen for even years, and the officers of the executive power for five years.

This state has all the varieties of soil from the worst to the best kind. It also embosoms vast quantities of iron and copper ore. The iron ore is of two kinds; one is capable of being manufactured into malleable iron, and is found in mountains and low barren grounds; the other, called *bog-ore*, grows \* in rich bottoms, and yields iron of a hard brittle quality, and is commonly manufactured into hollow ware, and used sometimes instead of stone in building.

Many circumstances concur to render the *manners* of the people of this country various. The inhabitants are a collection of Low Dutch, Germans, English, Scotch, Irish, and New Englanders, or their descendants. National attachment and mutual convenience have generally induced these several kinds of people to settle together in a body; and, in this way, their peculiar national manners, customs and character, are still preserved, especially among the lower class of the people, who have little intercourse with any but those of their own nation. Religion, although its tendency may be to unite people in those things that are essential to happiness, occasions wide differences as to manners, cus-

\* Some perhaps may be surprised to hear that ore grows; but that it does in fact grow is well known to many curious naturalists, who have carefully observed it.

toins, and even character. The presbyterian, the quaker, the episcopalian, the baptist, the German and Low Dutch calvinist, the methodist and Moravian, have each their distinguishing characteristics, either in their worship, their discipline, or their dress.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Of Pennsylvania and the Progress of Population, Agriculture, and Manners in that State.*

THE humane and peaceable sect of the *friends* or *quakers*, arose in England amidst the confusions of that bloody war which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets. He then began to think of making proselytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose opinions upon incomprehensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous. The first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver laces, no embroidery, ruffles, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not wear even a button in the hat, nor a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty. All outward marks of deference, which the

pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of excellence or eminence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of respect to a man's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried this idea so far, that even the magistrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number. The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one assailed him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work; or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate, and in support of a just cause, they deemed to be profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings. The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the ostentatious edifices of priestcraft, they considered the sabbath as a pernicious and idle institution, and baptism, and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy; sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently

frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies. The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, were none of their thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and dissuade his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confessed that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Among the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on this sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which, though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the A. D. 1681. year, he set sail for his new possessions, which, from that time, took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid

avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thousand.

His arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territories, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himself as much as possible a legal possessor of the territory, and by the use he made of it, supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying ever thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawns of reason, happiness, and humanity rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people civilized as well as savage. This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any

any person to attend them. Desirous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace? Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn.

He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay twenty shillings for them. Every one who could not obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of about one penny per acre. To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, to make those who are in possession of them purchase the degree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property, in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any dispute that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind,



mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body. Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn, were manifested in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eye of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

Had William Penn been a native of Greece, he would have had his statue placed next to those of Solon and Lycurgus. His laws, founded on the solid bases of equity, still maintain their force; and as a proof of their effects, it is only necessary to mention that land was lately granted at twelve pounds an hundred acres; whereas the terms on which it was formerly granted, were at twenty pounds the thousand acres, with one shilling quit rent for every hundred. Near Philadelphia, before the commencement of the war with the mother-country, land rented at twenty shillings the acre, and even at several miles distance from that city, sold at twenty years purchase.

Philadelphia is the capital, not only of this province, but of the United States. It is situated on the west bank of the river Delaware, on an extensive plain, about 118 miles from the sea. The length of the city, from east to west, that is from the Delaware to Schuylkill, upon the original plan of Mr. Penn, is 10,300 feet, and the breadth from north to south, is 4,837 feet. Not two fifths of the plot covered by the city charter is yet built. The inhabitants, however, have not confined themselves within the original limits of the city, but have built north and south along the Delaware, two miles in length. The longest street is Second-street, about 700 feet from Delaware river, and parallel to it. The circumference of that part of the city, which is built, if we include Kensington on the north, and Southwark on the south, may be about five miles. Market-street is 100 feet wide, and runs the whole length of the city, from river to river. Near the middle, it is intersected at right angles by Broad-street, across the city; and between Broad-street and the Schuylkill there are nine streets equidistant from each other. Parallel to Market-street are eight

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other streets, running east and west from river to river, and intersecting the cross streets at right angles; all these streets are 50 feet wide, except Arch-street, which is 65 feet wide. All the streets which run north and south, except Broad-street, mentioned above, are 50 feet wide. There were four squares of eight acres each, one at each corner of the city, originally reserved for public and common uses. And, in the center of the city, where Broad-street and Market-street intersect each other, there is a square of ten acres, reserved in like manner to be planted with rows of trees for public walks. The first street between Delaware river and the bank, is called Water-street. The next, on the top of the bank, is called Front-street; and west of this the streets are numbered, second, third, fourth, &c. On the river Delaware, there are sixteen public landings, at the distance of four or five hundred feet from each other; and private wharfs sufficient for 200 sail of sea vessels to unload at a time, as well as room to build any necessary number. This fine city was A. D. 1682. founded by the celebrated William Penn, who granted a charter, incorporating the town with privilege of choosing a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, twelve common-council men, a sheriff and clerk.

It was in Philadelphia that the general congress of America met in September 1774; and their meetings continued to be chiefly held there, till the king's troops made themselves masters of that city, on the 26th of September 1777. But in June 1778, the British troops retreated to New York, and Philadelphia again became the residence of the congress. In 1776, the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania met in a general convention at Philadelphia, and agreed upon the plan of a new constitution or government for that colony. They determined that the commonwealth, or state of Pennsylvania, should be governed hereafter by an assembly of the representatives of the freemen, and a president and council. That the supreme legislative power should be vested in the house of representatives. That the supreme executive power should be vested in the president and council of twelve. That every freeman of twenty-one years of age, having resided in Pennsylvania one year before the day of election for representatives, and paid public taxes during that time, should enjoy the right of an elector; and that the sons of freeholders, of twenty-one years of age, should be entitled to vote, although they had not paid taxes. That the house of representatives should consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the freemen of every city and county of this

## *Philadelphia.*

commonwealth respectively; that no person should be elected, unless he had resided in the city or county from which he should be chosen two years before the election and that no member, while he continued such, should hold any other office except in the militia. That no person should be capable of being elected a member to serve in the house of representatives more than four years in several years. That the members should be chosen annually by ballot, and should be styled, "The general Assembly of the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania;" and should have power to choose their speaker, the treasurer of the state, and their other officers, to prepare bills, and to enact them into laws, to redress grievances, impeach state criminals and have all other powers necessary for the legislature of a free state and commonwealth. That delegates to represent Pennsylvania in congress should be annually chosen by ballot, in the general assembly of representatives. That the supreme executive council of this state should consist of twelve persons to be chosen by the freemen of Philadelphia, and the several counties of Pennsylvania. That a president and vice-president of this council, should be chosen annually. That the president, and, in his absence, the vice-president, with the council, five of whom are to be a quorum, should have power to appoint judges, naval officers, judge of the admiralty, attorney-general, and other officers civil and military. That the president shall be commander in chief of the forces of the state, but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the council, and then only so long as the council shall approve. That all trials shall be by jury; and that freedom of speech, and of the press, shall not be restrained. That all persons in public offices should declare their belief in one God, the Creator, and Governor of the Universe; the rewarder of the good, and the punisher of wicked; and also acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration. A variety of other particulars were contained in this plan of government, particularly that the freemen and their sons should be trained and armed for the public defence, under such regulations, restrictions, and exceptions, as the general Assembly should by law direct, preserving always to the people the right of choosing their colonel, and all commissioned officers under that rank, in such manner, and as often as by the said laws should be directed. Two persons also are to be chosen by ballot every year for each county and city, by the freemen, to be called "The Council of Censors," who are to examine into the conduct of the legislative and executive branches.

The inhabitants of Pennsylvania consist of emigrants from England, Ireland, Germany and Scotland. The friends and episcopalians are chiefly of English extraction, and compose about one-third of the inhabitants. Industry, frugality, bordering in some instances on parsimony, enterprize, a taste and ability for improvements in mechanics, in manufactures, in agriculture, in commerce, and in the liberal sciences; temperance, plainness and simplicity in dress and manners; pride and humility in their extremes; inoffensiveness and intrigue; in regard to religion, variety and harmony; liberality and its opposites, superstition and bigotry; and in politics an unhappy jargon:—Such are the distinguishing traits in the Pennsylvanian character.

The remarks of a sensible writer on the progress of population, agriculture, manners and government of Pennsylvania, here deserve our attention. “The first settler in the woods is generally a man who has out-lived his credit or fortune in the cultivated parts of the state. His time for migrating is in the month of April. His first object is to build a small cabin of rough logs for himself and family. The floor of this cabin is of earth, the roof is of split logs; the light is received through the door, and, in some instances, through a small window made of greased paper. A coarser building adjoining this cabin afford a shelter to a cow, and a pair of poor horses. The labour of erecting these buildings is succeeded by felling the trees on a few acres of ground near his cabin; this is done by cutting a circle round the trees, two or three feet from the ground. The ground around these trees is then ploughed, and Indian corn planted in it. The season for planting this grain is about the 20th of May. It grows generally on new ground, with but little cultivation, and yields, in the month of October following, from 40 to 50 bushels per acre. After the first of September it affords a good deal of nourishment to his family, in its green or unripe state, in the form of what is called *roasting ears*. His family is fed, during the summer, by a small quantity of grain, which he carries with him, and by fish and game. His cows and horses feed upon wild grass, or the succulent twigs of the woods. For the first year he endures a great deal of distress from hunger, cold, and a variety of accidental causes, but he seldom complains or sinks under them. As he lives in the neighbourhood of the Indians, he soon acquires a strong tincture of their manners. His exertions, while they continue, are violent; but they are succeeded by long intervals of rest. His pleasures consist chiefly in fishing and hunting. He loves spirituous liquors, and he eats,  
drinks

drinks and sleeps in dirt and rags in his little cabin. In his intercourse with the world he manifests all the arts which characterize the Indians of America. In this situation he passes two or three years. In proportion as population increases around him, he becomes uneasy and dissatisfied. Formerly his cattle ranged at large, but now his neighbours call upon him to confine them within the fences, to prevent their trespassing upon their fields of grain. Formerly he fed his family with wild animals, but these, which fly from the face of man, now cease to afford him an easy subsistence, and he is compelled to raise domestic animals for the support of his family. Above all, he revolts against the operation of laws. He cannot bear to surrender up a single natural right for all the benefits of government; and therefore he abandons his little settlement, and seeks a retreat in the woods, where he again submits to all the toils which have been mentioned. There are instances of many men who have broken ground on bare creation, not less than four different times in this way, in different and more advanced parts of the state. It has been remarked that the flight of this class of people is always increased by the preaching of the gospel. This will not surprise us, when we consider how opposite its precepts are to their licentious manner of living. If the first settler was the owner of the spot of land which he began to cultivate, he sells it at a considerable profit to his successor; but if (as is oftener the case) he was a tenant to some such landholder, he abandons it in debt; however, the small improvements he leaves behind him, generally make it an object of immediate demand to a *second* species of settler.

This species of settler is generally a man of some property; he pays one third or one fourth part in cash for his plantation, which consists of three or four hundred acres, and the rest by instalments. The first object of this settler is to build an addition to his cabin. This is done with hewed logs; and as saw-mills generally follow settlements, his are made of boards. This house is divided by two floors, on each of which are two rooms; under the whole is a cellar walled with stone. The cabin serves as a kitchen to this house. His next object is to clear a little meadow-ground, and plant an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. His stable is likewise enlarged, and, in the course of a year or two, he builds a large log barn, the roof of which is commonly thatched with rye straw: he moreover, increases the quantity of his arable land, and, instead of cultivating Indian corn alone, he raises also

wheat and rye : the latter is cultivated chiefly for the purpose of being distilled into *whiskey*.

The *third* species of settler is commonly a man of property and good character; sometimes he is the son of a wealthy farmer, in one of the interior and ancient countries of the state. His first object is to convert every spot of ground, over which he is able to draw water, into meadow; and where this cannot be done, he selects the most fertile spots on the farm, and devotes them, by manure, to that purpose. His fences are every where repaired, so as to secure his grain from his own and his neighbour's cattle. He increases the number of the articles of his cultivation, and instead of raising corn, wheat, and rye alone, he raises oats, buck-wheat\*, and spelts. Near his house, he allots an acre or two of ground for a garden, on which he raises a large quantity of cabbage and potatoes. His newly cleared fields afford him every year a large increase of turnips. Over the spring which supplies him with water, he builds a milk house. He likewise adds to the number and improves the quality of his fruit trees. His sons work by his side all the year, and his wife and daughters forsake the dairy and the spinning wheel, to share with him in the toils of harvest. The last object of his industry is to build a dwelling-house; which is generally of stone. It is large, convenient, and filled with useful and substantial furniture. The horses and cattle of this species of settler, bear marks in their strength, fat, and fruitfulness, of their being plentifully fed and carefully kept. His table abounds with a variety of the best provisions; his very kitchen flows with milk and honey; beer, cyder, and wine, are the usual drinks of his family. The greatest part of the clothing of his family is manufactured by his wife and daughters. In proportion as he increases in wealth, he values the protection of laws: hence he punctually pays his taxes towards the support of government. Schools and churches likewise, as the means of promoting order and happiness in society, derive a due support from him: for benevolence and public spirit, as to these objects, are the natural offspring of affluence and independence. Of this class of settlers are two thirds of the farmers of Pennsylvania: these are the men to whom Pennsylvania owes her ancient fame and consequence. If they possess less refinement than their southern neighbours, who cultivate their lands with slaves, they possess more republican virtue. It was from the farms cul-

\* The *Fagopyrum* of Linnæus.

tivated by these men, that the American and French armies were fed chiefly with bread during the late revolution, and it was from the produce of these farms, that those millions of dollars were obtained from the Havanna after the year 1780, which laid the foundation of the bank of North America, and which fed and clothed the American army, till the peace of Paris.

From a review of the three different species of settlers, it appears, that there are certain regular stages which mark the progress from savage to civilized life. The first settler is nearly related to an Indian in his manners. In the second, the Indian manners are more diluted. It is in the third species of settlers only, that we behold civilization completed. It is to the third species of settlers only, that it is proper to apply the term of *farmers*.

The unoccupied lands are sold by the state for about six guineas, inclusive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as most of the lands that are settled, are procured from persons who had purchased them from the state, they are sold to the first settler for a much higher price. The quality of the soil, its vicinity to mills, court-houses, places of worship, and navigable water; the distance of land carriage to the sea-ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the first settler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumstances, influence the price of farms to the second and third settlers. Hence the price of land to the first settler is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre; and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the second and third settlers, according as the land is varied by the before mentioned circumstances. When the first settler is unable to purchase, he often takes a tract of land for seven years on a lease, and contracts, instead of paying a rent in cash, to clear fifty acres of land, to build a log cabin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this lease, sells or rents for a considerable profit.

In the mode of extending population and agriculture, above described, we behold a new species of war. The third settler may be viewed as a conqueror. The weapons with which he achieves his conquests, are the implements of husbandry; and the virtues which direct them, are industry and economy. Idleness, extravagance and ignorance, fly before him. Happy would it be for mankind, if the kings of Europe would adopt this mode of extending their territories: it would soon put an end to the dreadful connection,

which has existed in every age, between war and poverty, between conquest and desolation\*.”

Of the great variety of religious denominations in Pennsylvania, the *quakers* are the most numerous. ~~The true appellation of these people is~~ *friends*: that of quakers was early and unjustly given them by way of contempt. During the late war, some of their number, contrary to that article of their faith, which *forbids them to fight in any case whatever*, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a secession from their brethren, and they now form a separate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the “resisting or fighting quakers.” Next to the quakers, the Presbyterians are the most numerous.

The protestant *episcopal church* of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, A. D. 1785. Virginia and South-Carolina, met in convention at Philadelphia, and revised the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and published and proposed the book, thus revised, for the use of the church. This revision was made in part, in order to render the liturgy consistent with the American revolution, and the constitutions of the several states. In this they have discovered their liberality and their patriotism. In Pennsylvania and the southern states, this revised book is pretty generally used by the episcopal churches. In New York and New Jersey it has not been adopted.

There are upwards of sixty ministers of the Lutheran and Calvinist religion, who are of German extraction, now in this state; all of whom have one or more congregations under their care; and many of them preach in splendid and extensive churches: and yet the first Lutheran minister, who arrived in Pennsylvania about forty years ago, was alive in 1787, as was also the second Calvinistical minister. The Lutherans do not differ, in any thing essential, from the episcopalians; nor do the Calvinists from the Presbyterians.

The *Moravians* are of German extraction. They call themselves the *United Brethren of the protestant episcopal church*. They are called Moravians, because the first settlers in the English dominions were chiefly emigrants. These were the remnant and genuine descendants of the church of the ancient United Brethren, established in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the last century, they left their native country, to avoid perse-

\* Letter from a citizen of Philadelphia to his friend in England.



cution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers. They were received in Saxony, and other protestant dominions, and were encouraged to settle among them, and were joined by many serious people of other denominations. They adhere to the Augustine confession of faith, which was drawn up by the protestant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and presented at the diet of the empire at Augsburg; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal system of all the established protestant churches. They retain the discipline of their ancient church, and make use of episcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of succession for more than three hundred years\*.

Pennsylvania has given birth to many *useful inventions*. Among others are the following: A new model of the planetary world, by Mr. Rittenhouse, commonly called an orrery; a quadrant, by Mr. Godfrey, called by the plagiarist name of Hadley's quadrant; a steam boat, so constructed, as that by the assistance of steam, operating on certain machinery within the boat, it moves with considerable rapidity against the stream, without the aid of hands. Messrs. Fitch and Ramsay contend with each other for the honour of this invention.—A new printing press, lately invented and constructed in Philadelphia, worked by one person alone, who performs three fourths as much work in a day, as two persons at a common press. Besides these there have been invented many manufacturing machines, for carding, spinning, winnowing, &c. which perform an immense deal of work with very little manual assistance†.

There are three *remarkable grottos* or caves in this state; one near Carlisle, in Cumberland county; one in the township of Durham, in Bucks county; and the other at Swetara, in Lancaster county. Of the two former there are no particular descriptions. The latter is on the east bank of Swetara river, about two miles above its confluence with the Susquehannah. Its entrance is spacious, and descends so much as that the surface of the river is rather higher than the bottom of the cave. The vault of this cave is of solid lime stone rock, perhaps twenty feet thick. It contains several apartments, some of which are very high and spacious. The water is incessantly percolating through the roof, and falls in drops to the bottom of the cave. These drops petrify as they fall, and have gradually formed solid pillars which

\* Crantz's History of the United Brethren's Church.

† Morse.

appear as supports to the roof. Thirty years ago there were ten such pillars, each six inches in diameter, and six feet high; all so ranged that the place they enclosed resembled a sanctuary in a Roman church. ~~No royal throne~~ ever exhibited more grandeur than this *lusus naturæ*. The resemblances of several monuments are found indented in the walls on the sides of the cave, which appear like the tombs of departed heroes. Suspended from the roof is "the bell," (which is nothing more than a stone projected in an unusual form) so called from the sound that it occasions when struck, which is similar to that of a bell. Some of the stalactites are of a colour like sugar-candy, and others resemble loaf sugar; but their beauty is much defaced by the country people. The water, which percolates through the roof, so much of it as is not petrified in its course, runs down the declivity, and is both pleasant and wholesome to drink. There are several holes in the bottom of the cave, descending perpendicularly, perhaps into an abyss below, which render it dangerous to walk without a light. At the end of the cave is a pretty brook, which, after a short course, loses itself among the rocks. Beyond this brook is an outlet from the cave by a very narrow aperture. Through this the vapours continually pass outwards with a strong current of air, and ascend, resembling, at night, the smoke of a furnace. Part of these vapours and fogs appear, on ascending, to be condensed at the head of this great alembic, and the more volatile parts to be carried off, through the aperture communicating with the exterior air before mentioned, by the force of the air in its passage.

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## C H A P. V.

### *Of Virginia and Maryland.*

**T**HIS is the first country which the English planted in America. We derived our right, not only to this, but to all our other settlements, from the discovery of Sebastian Cabot, who, in 1497, first made the northern continent of America, in the service of Henry VII. of England. No attempts, however, were made to settle it till the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was then sir Walter Raleigh, a man

of the most enterprising genius of any in that age, applied to court, and got together a company which was composed of several persons of distinction, and several eminent merchants; who agreed to open a trade, and settle a colony in that part of the world, which, in honor of queen Elizabeth, he called Virginia. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, several attempts were made for settling this colony, before any proved successful. The three first companies who sailed into Virginia, perished through hunger and diseases, or were cut off by the Indians. The fourth was reduced almost to the same situation; and being dwindled to a feeble remainder, had set sail for England, in despair of living in such an uncultivated country, inhabited by such hostile and warlike savages. But in the mouth of Chesapeake bay they were met with lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and with every thing necessary for their relief and defence. At his persuasion they returned: by his advice, his prudence, and winning behaviour, the internal government of the colony was settled, and its defence provided for. This nobleman, who had accepted the government from the noblest motives was compelled, by the decayed state of his health, to return into England. He left behind him, however, his son as deputy; with sir Thomas Gates, sir George Summers, the honourable George Piercy, and Mr. Newport for his council. By them James-Town, the first town built by the English in the New World, was erected.

The colony continued to flourish, and the true sources of its wealth began to be discovered and improved. The first settlers, like those of Maryland, were generally persons of consideration and distinction. It remained a steady ally to the royal party, during the troubles of great Britain. Many of the cavaliers, in danger at home, took refuge here; and under the government of sir William Berkley, held out for the crown, until the parliament, rather by stratagem than force, reduced them. After the restoration there is nothing very interesting in the history of this province. Soon after this time, a young gentleman, named Bacon, a lawyer, availed himself of some discontents in the colony, on account of restraints in trade, became very popular, and put every thing in confusion. His natural death, however, restored peace and unanimity; and the inhabitants of Virginia ceased to destroy themselves,

The government of this province was not at first adapted to the principles of the English constitution, and to the enjoyment of that liberty to which a subject of Great Britain thinks himself entitled in every part of the globe. It was

was governed by a governor and council, appointed by the king of Great Britain. As the inhabitants increased, the inconveniency of this form became more grievous; and a new branch was added to the constitution, by which the people, who had formerly no influence, were allowed to elect their representatives from each county, into which this country is divided, with privileges resembling those of the representatives of the commons of England. Thus two houses, the upper and lower house of assembly, were formed. The upper house, which was before called the council, remained on its former footing; its members were appointed, during pleasure, by the crown; they were styled Honourable, and answered, in some measure, to the house of peers in the British constitution. The lower house was the guardian of the people's liberty. And thus, with a governor representing the king, an upper and lower house of assembly, this government bore a striking resemblance to our own. When any bill had passed the two houses, it came before the governor, who gave his assent or negative as he thought proper. It now acquired the force of a law, until it was transmitted to England, and his majesty's pleasure known on that subject. The upper house of assembly acted not only as a part of the legislature, but also as a privy-council to the governor, without whose concurrence he could do nothing of moment; it sometimes acted as a court of Chancery. The present government of this province, as settled in convention at Williamf-

A.D. 1776. burg, is, that the legislature, executive and judiciary departments be separate and distinct; and that the house of delegates be chosen annually by the freeholders.

In this country, one may travel an hundred miles without meeting with a hill. In summer the heats are excessive, though not without refreshing breezes from the sea. The weather is changeable, and the change is sudden and violent. To a warm day there sometimes succeeds such an intense cold in the evening, as to freeze over the largest rivers. Towards the sea shore and the banks of the rivers, the soil of Virginia consists of a dark rich mould, which, without manure, returns plentifully whatever is committed to it. The variety and perfection of the vegetable productions are astonishing. The forests are covered with all sorts of lofty trees; and no underwood or bushes grow beneath; so that the people travel with ease on horseback, under a fine shade to defend them from the sun; the plains are enamelled with flowers and flowering shrubs of the richest colours and most fragrant scent. Silk grows spontaneous

taneously in many places, the fibres of which are strong as hemp. Medicinal herbs and roots, particularly the snake-root and the ginseng of the Chinese, are here in great plenty. There is no sort of grain but might be cultivated to advantage. The inhabitants, however, are so engrossed with the culture of the tobacco-plant, which is here of a superior quality to what any other country affords, that they think, if corn, sufficient for their support, can be raised, they do enough in this way.

Tobacco is a sharp caustic, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every one is acquainted with the general consumption of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered by the Spaniards, who found it first A.D. 1520. in the Yucatan, a large peninsula in the gulf of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees, fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption, in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America. The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscous; its leaves are dark, fleshy, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a breeding soil, but rich, even, and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of moisture. The seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is generally pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours. The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be picked off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. One industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred

hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; ~~the leaves~~ are also curved, the scent of them grows stronger, and extends to a great distance. The plant is then ripe and must be cut. The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. They are left separately suspended for such a time as is necessary to dry them properly. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation. Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Virginia and Maryland. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every plantation throughout Maryland. But, in process of time, the use of this herb became so general that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who were employed in preparing it. At present each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That of Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates on account of its cheapness, and even its coarseness, which makes it adapted to less delicate organs.

Virginia has produced some men of great abilities, who were very active in effecting the late important revolution in America. Her political and military character will rank among the first in the page of history. But it is to be observed that this character has been obtained for the Virginians by a few eminent men, who have taken the lead in all their public transactions, and who, in short, govern Virginia; for the great body of the people do not concern themselves with politics; so that their government, though nominally republican, is, in fact, oligarchal or aristocratical. The climate and external appearance of the country, says

says a sensible traveller \*, conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good-natured; extremely fond of society, and much given to convivial pleasures, in consequence of this they seldom show any spirit of enterprize, or expose themselves willingly to fatigue. Their authority over their slaves renders them vain and imperious, and entire strangers to that elegance of sentiment, which is so peculiarly characteristic of refined and polished nations. Their ignorance of mankind and of learning, exposed them to many errors and prejudices, especially in regard to Indians and negroes, whom they scarcely consider as of the human species; so that it is almost impossible, in cases of violence, or even murder, committed upon those unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to justice; for either the grand jury refuse to find the bill, or the petit-jury bring in their verdict, not guilty. The young men, generally speaking, are gamblers, cock-fighters, and horse-jockies. To hear them converse, you would imagine that the grand point of all science was properly to fix a gaff, and touch, with dexterity, the tail of a cock, while in combat. He who won the last match, the last game, or the last horse-race, assumes the airs of a hero or German potentate. The ingenuity of a Locke, or the discoveries of a Newton, are considered as infinitely inferior to the accomplishments of him who knows when to shoulder a blind cock, or start a fleet horse. A spirit for literary inquiries, if not altogether confined to a few, is, among the body of the people, evidently subordinate to a spirit of gaming and barbarous sports. At almost every tavern or ordinary on the public road, there is a billiard table, a back-gammon table, cards, and other implements for various games. To these public houses, the gambling gentry in the neighbourhood resort to *kill time*, which hangs heavily upon them; and at this business they are extremely expert, having been accustomed to it from their earliest youth. The passion for cock-fighting, a diversion not only inhumanly barbarous, but infinitely beneath the dignity of a man of sense, is so predominant, that they even advertise their matches in the public newspapers. This dissipation of manners is the fruit of indolence and luxury, which are the fruit of the African slavery.

Though an entire toleration was allowed to all religions in this country, there were, before the commencement of the civil war, few dissenters from the church of England. The bishop of London used to send over a superintend-

\* Burnaby.

ant to inspect the characters of clergymen who lived comfortably here (a priest to each parish) with about 100*l.* per annum paid in tobacco. Here is also a college founded by king William, called William and Mary college, who gave 200*l.* towards it, and 20,000 acres of land, with power to purchase and hold lands to the value of 2000*l.* a year, and a duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported to the other plantations. There is a president, six professors, and other officers, who are named by the governors or visitors. The honourable Mr. Boyle made a very large donation to the college for the education of Indian children. The presbyterian denomination of Christians is the most numerous in this province, for though the first settlers were Episcopalians, yet, through the indolence of the clergy, two-thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the late revolution.

It seems as if all the provinces of North America were planted from motives of religion. *Maryland*, like those we have formerly described, owes its settlement to religious considerations. When the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak and unfortunate prince, Charles the First, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive system of faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new system for that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son.

A.D. 1633. This young nobleman left England with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion, for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent council of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness



pines they enjoyed invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country. These wise precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts, yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the Second, and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been not to distinguish his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think, that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing, a second time, to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne, which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they also recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

The government of this country exactly resembled that in Virginia, except that the governor was appointed by the proprietor, and only confirmed by the crown. The customs too were reserved to the crown, and the officers belonging to them were independent of the government of the province. At length, as the protestants became far more numerous, they excluded the papists from all offices of trust and power, and even adopted the penal laws of England against them. The church of England was by law established here, and the clergy were paid in tobacco: a tax for this purpose was annually levied, and every male white

person above the age of sixteen was obliged to 'pay forty pounds of tobacco; or if he raised no tobacco, he must take an oath that he did not, and pay the value in cash; dissenting clergymen were not exempted. But since the civil war, by the declaration of rights and the constitution A. D. 1776. agreed to in the convention of delegates at Annapolis, the legislature is now to consist of two distinct branches, the senate and the house of delegates; the latter to be annually chosen, *viva voce*, by the freeholders in each county. All persons appointed to any office of profit or trust, are to subscribe a declaration of their belief in the Christian religion.

The inhabitants of Maryland, except in populous towns, live on their plantations, often several miles distant from each other. To an inhabitant of the middle, and especially of the eastern states, which are very populous, they appear to live very retired and unsocial lives. The effects of this comparative solitude are visible in the countenances, as well as in the manners and dress of the country people. You observe very little of that cheerful sprightliness of look and action which is the invariable and genuine offspring of social intercourse. Nor do you find that attention paid to dress, which is common, and which decency and propriety have rendered necessary, among people who are liable to receive company almost every day. Unaccustomed, in a great measure, to these frequent and friendly visits, they often suffer a negligence in their dress which borders on slovenliness. There is apparently a disconsolate wildness in their countenances, and an indolence and inactivity in their whole behaviour, which are evidently the effects of solitude and slavery. As the negroes perform all the manual labour, their masters are left to saunter away life in sloth, and too often in ignorance. These observations, however, must in justice be limited to the people in the country, and to those particularly, whose poverty or parsimony prevents their spending a part of their time in populous towns, or otherwise mingling with the world. And with these limitations they will equally apply to all the southern states. The inhabitants of the populous towns, and those from the country who have intercourse with them, are in their manners and customs like the people of the other states in like situations. That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those who, from their infancy, are taught to believe and to feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland. But with this characteristic we must not fail to connect that of hospitality to strangers, which is equally universal and obvious, and is, perhaps, in part, the offspring

offspring of it. The inhabitants are made up of various nations of many different religious sentiments; few general observations, therefore, of a characteristical kind will apply;

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## C H A P. VI.

*Of North and South Carolina.*

CAROLINA<sup>\*</sup> was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions into the New world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they paid no attention to it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile region, in order to go and cultivate a more unfertile soil, in a less agreeable climate. There was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Ashley; sir George Carteret, sir William Berkeley, and sir William Colleton obtained from Charles II. A. D. 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at least, to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refuse them in Europe: nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on

account of a blindness, which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was Mr. Lock's reasoning with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should, at the age of seventeen, register himself in some particular communion. The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had restrained his views, as will be the case of every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; it is certain that the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation \*.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation. The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but with new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to have four-score thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be bestowed, were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable; a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the term of three lives. The lower house was composed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than about one shilling, per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under a obligation to take up arms upon the

\* Abbé Raynal.

first order they should receive from the Palatine court. It was not long before the defects of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to be discerned. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves, with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful exertion of industry. The whole province distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumult, was rendered incapable of making any progress, though great improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation. Nor were these evils sufficient to call for a redress, which was only to arise from the excess to which they were carried.

Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, A. D. 1705. was sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who were two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. While this animosity was still subsisting, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continual course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. These unfortunate wretches were all conquered and put to the sword; but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all expecting Carteret, who still preserved one-eighth of the country, stripped A. D. 1778. of their prerogatives, which they had only made an ill use of. They received, however, 23,625*l.* by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, gave it the same constitution as the rest. It was likewise divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

*North-Carolina*, on the sea-coast, is a level country, of which a great porportion is covered with forests. About sixty miles from the sea, it rises into hills and mountains. Newbern, Edenton, Wilmington, Halifax and Hillsborough, have each in their turns been considered as capitals

of the state. At present they have no capital. The convention which met to consider the new constitution, fixed on a place in Wake county to be the seat of government, but the town is not yet built. The North Carolinians are mostly planters, and live from half a mile to three or four miles from each other, on their plantations. They have little intercourse with strangers, and a natural fondness for society, which induce them to be hospitable to travellers. In the lower districts the inhabitants have very few places for public and weekly worship of any kind; and these few, being destitute of ministers, are suffered to stand neglected. The sabbath of course, which, in most civilized countries, is professionally and externally, at least, regarded as holy time, and which, considered merely in a civil view, is an excellent establishment for the promotion of cleanliness, friendship, harmony, and all the social virtues, is here generally disregarded, or distinguished by the convivial visitings of the white inhabitants, and the noisy diversions of the negroes. The general topic, of conversation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurrences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, tobacco, &c. They appear to have as little taste for the sciences as for religion. Political enquiries and philosophical disquisitions, are attended to by a few men of genius and industry, but are too laborious for the indolent minds of the people at large. Less attention and respect are paid to the women here, than in those parts of the United States where the inhabitants have made greater progress in the arts of civilized life. Indeed, it is a truth, confirmed by observation, that in proportion to the advancement of civilization, in the same proportion will respect for the women be increased; so that the progress of civilization in countries, in states, in towns, and in families, may be marked by the degree of attention which is paid by husbands to their wives, and by the young men to the young women. Temperance and industry are not to be reckoned among the virtues of the North Carolinians. The time which they waste in drinking, idling, and gambling, leaves them but very little opportunity to improve their plantations or their minds. The improvement of the former is left to their overseers and negroes; the improvement of the latter is too often neglected. Were the time, which is thus wasted, spent in cultivating the soil, and in treasuring up knowledge, they might be both wealthy and learned; for they have a productive country, and are by no means destitute of genius.

By the constitution of this state, which was ratified in December, 1776, all legislative authority is vested in two  
distinct.

distinct branches, both dependent on the people, viz. a senate and house of commons, which, when convened for business, are styled the *General Assembly*.

In *South-Carolina*, the vegetation of every kind of plant is incredibly quick. The climate and soil have something in them so kindly, that the latter, when left to itself, naturally throws out an immense quantity of flowers and flowering shrubs. All the European plants arrive at perfection here beyond that in which their native country affords them. At an hundred miles distance from Charles Town, the soil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpose of human life, nor can any thing be imagined more pleasant to the eye than the variegated disposition of the back country. Here the air is pure and wholesome, and the summer heat much more temperate than in the flat sandy coast. Both the Carolinas produce quantities of honey, of which they make excellent spirits, and meads good as Malaga sack. Of all these, the three great staple commodities at present are, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine. Nothing surprises an European more at first sight, than the size of the trees here, as well as in Virginia and other American countries. Their trunks are often from fifty to seventy feet high, without a branch or limb; and frequently above thirty-six feet in circumference. Of these trunks when hollowed, the people of Charles-Town, as well as the Indians, make canoes, which serve to transport provisions and other goods from place to place; and some of them are so large, that they will carry thirty or forty barrels of pitch, though formed of one entire piece of timber. Of these are likewise made curious pleasure boats.

Charleston is the only considerable town in South Carolina. It is situated on the tongue of land which is formed by the confluence of Ashley and Cooper-rivers, which are large and navigable. These rivers mingle their waters immediately below the town, and form a spacious and convenient harbour, which communicates with the ocean at Sullivan's Island, seven miles south east of the town. The land on which the town is built is flat and low, and the water brackish and unwholesome. The inhabitants are obliged to raise banks of earth as barriers to defend themselves against the higher floods of the sea. The streets from east to west extend from river to river, and running in a straight line, not only open beautiful prospects each way, but afford excellent opportunities, by means of subterranean drains, for removing all nuisances and keeping the city clean and healthy. These streets are intersected by others, nearly at right angles, and throw the town into a number of squares,

with dwelling-houses in front, and office-houses, and little gardens behind. The houses which have been lately built, are brick, with tiled roofs. Some of the buildings in Charleston are elegant, and most of them are neat, airy, and well furnished. The public buildings are an exchange, state house, armoury, poor house, two large churches for episcopalians, two for congregationalists or independents, one for Scotch Presbyterians, two for the Baptists, one for the German Lutherans, one for the methodists, one for French protestants; besides a meeting-house for quakers, and two Jewish synagogues, one for the Portuguese, the other for the German Jews.

The Jews in Charleston, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have this: after the funeral dirge is sung, and just before the corpse is deposited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a small bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceased; then some powder, said to be earth brought from Jerusalem and carefully kept for this purpose, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpse, in token of their remembrance of the holy land; and of their expectation of returning thither in God's appointed time.

There is no peculiarity in the manners of the generality of the inhabitants of this state, except what arises from the mischievous influence of slavery; and, in this indeed, they do not differ from the inhabitants of the southern states. Slavery, by exempting great numbers from the necessities of labour, leads to luxury, dissipation, and extravagance. The absolute authority which is exercised over their slaves, too much favours a haughty, supercilious behaviour. The Carolinians sooner arrive at maturity, both in their bodies and minds, than the natives of colder climates. They possess a natural quickness and vivacity of genius superior to the inhabitants of the north; but too generally want that enterprise and perseverance, which are necessary for the highest attainment in the arts and sciences. They have, indeed, few motives to enterprize. Inhabiting a fertile country, which, by the labour of the slaves, produces plentifully, and creates affluence in a climate which favours indulgence, ease, and a disposition for convivial pleasures, they too generally rest contented with barely knowledge enough to transact the common affairs of life.

Hunting is the most fashionable amusement in this state. At this the country gentlemen are extremely expert, and with surprising dexterity pursue their game through the woods. Theatrical exhibitions have been prohibited in Charleston. Gaming of all kinds is more discounted  
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panced among fashionable people in this, than in any of the southern states. Twice a year, stately, a class of sportive gentlemen, in this and the neighbouring states, have their horse-races. Bets of ten and fifteen hundred guineas are sometimes laid on these occasions.

Gentlemen of fortune, before the late war, sent their sons to Europe for education. Since that time they have generally sent them to the middle and northern states. Those who have been at this expence in educating their sons, have been but comparatively few in number, so that the literature of the state is at a low ebb. Since the peace, however, it has begun to flourish; and there are now several eminent academies, not only in Charleston, but in other parts of the state.

## C H A P. VII.

### *Of Georgia.*

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land, which extends one hundred and twenty miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Altamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors, as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, which was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning sovereign. This instance of respect, the more pleasing as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added ten thousand pounds to the estate left by the will of the citizen;

citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the House of Commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he himself chose to conduct the first colonists that were sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot ten miles distant from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile place on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, it was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons, but before the end of the year, the number was increased to six hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-seven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and twelve lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity. This settlement was in-

A.D. 1735. created by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alutamaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year, a great number of protestants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot just above that of the infant colony, but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town, called Ebenezer. Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of an hundred habitations, was named Purytury, from Pury, their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him. In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest, in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty miles distant from the

the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but they were induced to it by the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these skins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the large ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 65,000*l.* exclusive of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But, to her great surprise, she received information, in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who, being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered. The colony, even in its infancy, brought forth the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations any more than individuals, do not learn instruction from their past misconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every abuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, facilitated the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals. The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters, not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate. As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of

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of emulation. It seldom happens that a man resolves to leave his country, but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. All limits, therefore, prescribed to his industry, are so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase. The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, were very inconsiderable, and even these were not levied till the settlements acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenue raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them, than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another, which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought that a country destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by their mother-country than their neighbours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage, and in a hotter climate, would want health and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement. The indolence, which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with  
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the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities in return for the rum of those islands. The mother-country, at length, perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with. The government of Georgia was settled upon the same principles as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions. From the time Georgia became a royal government, till the A. D. 1752. peace of Paris, in 1763, she struggled under many difficulties, arising from the want of credit, from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. The good effects of the peace were sensibly felt in the province of Georgia. From this time it began to flourish under the fatherly care of governor Wright. To form a judgment of the rapid growth of the colony, we need only attend to its exports.

In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia consisted of 7,500 barrels of rice, 9,633 pounds of indigo, 1,250 bushels of Indian corn, which together with deer and beaver skins, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than 27,021*l.* sterling. Ten years afterwards, in 1773, it exported commodities to the value of 121,677*l.* sterling.

During the late war, Georgia was over-run by the British troops, and the inhabitants were obliged to flee into the neighbouring states for safety. The sufferings and losses of her citizens were as great, in proportion to their numbers and wealth, as in any of the states. Since the peace, the progress of the population of this state has been astonishingly rapid. Its growth in improvement and population has been checked by the hostile irruptions of the Creek Indians, which have been frequent, and very distressing to the frontier inhabitants for some years past. This formidable nation of Indians, headed by one Mac Gilvery, an inhabitant of Georgia, who sided with the British in the late war, still continues to harass the frontiers of this state. Treaties have been held, and a cessation of hostilities agreed to between the parties; but all have hitherto proved ineffectual to the accomplishment of a peace. It is expected that, under the new government conciliatory measures will be adopted, and tranquillity restored to the state.

The numerous defects in the constitution of this state, induced the citizens, almost universally, to petition for a revision of it; when it was agreed, in convention, that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments should be distinct and separate bodies.

Georgia has two towns, well known in trade. Savannah, the capital, is commodiously situated for an inland and foreign trade, about ten miles from the sea, upon a noble river of the same name, which is navigable for 200 miles farther for large boats, to the second town, called Augusta, which stands in a country of the greatest fertility, and carries on a considerable trade with the Indians. From the town of Savannah you see the whole course of the river towards the sea; and, on the other hand, you see the river for about sixty miles up into the country. About twelve miles from this metropolis, the Rev. George Whitefield, who used to cross the Atlantic every second year, founded an orphan-house academy; for the support of which, in his itinerations, he collected large sums of money from all denominations of Christians both in England and America. Part of this money was expended in erecting proper buildings to accommodate students, and part in supporting them. In 1768, it was proposed that the orphan-house should be erected into a college. Whereupon Mr. Whitefield applied to the crown for a charter, which would have been readily granted, on condition that the president should, in all successions, be an episcopalian of the church of England. Several letters passed between the arch-bishop of Canterbury and Mr. Whitefield on the subject, in which the arch-bishop insisted on this condition. But Mr. Whitefield, though himself an episcopalian, declined it, alledging to his grace, that it would be unjust to limit that office to any particular sect, when the donations for the foundation of the institution had been made and entrusted to him by the various religious denominations, both in England and America. In consequence of this dispute, the affair of a charter was given up, and Mr. Whitefield made his assignment of the orphan-house to the counts of Huntingdon. Mr. Whitefield died at Newbury Port, in New England,

A. D. 1770. in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was buried under the presbyterian church in that place. Soon after his death a charter was granted to his institution in Georgia, and the Rev. Mr. Percy was appointed president of the college. Mr. Percy accordingly came over to execute his office, but, unfortunately, on the 30th of May, 1775, the orphan-house building caught fire, and was entirely

tirely consumed, except the two wings, which are still remaining. The American war soon after came on, and put every thing into confusion, and the funds have ever since lain in an unproductive state. It is probable that the college estate may hereafter be so incorporated with the university of Georgia, as to answer, in some measure, the original and pious purposes of its founder.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*New American States.*

**B**ESIDES the provinces above mentioned, other states have lately risen in North America, and it is in contemplation to form many more out of the immense extent of unappropriated territory.

*Kentucky*, belonging at present to the state of Virginia, is bounded by the Ohio in its whole length. The greatest part of the soil is amazingly fertile, and the climate is more temperate and healthy than any in the New World. The first white man we have any certain account of, who discovered this province, was one James McBride, who in company with some others, passing A. D. 1754. down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remains to this day. These men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleasing news of their discovery of the best tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians by the name of the Dark and Bloody Grounds, and, sometimes, the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Colonel Daniel Boone, and a few more, who conceiving it an interesting object, agreed, in the year 1769, to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, they at length

length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, decried the beautiful landscape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt for provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Colonel Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations; and, returning to camp, informed their companions of their discovery. But, in spite of this promising beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardships and adversity, grew exceedingly disheartened, and were plundered, dispersed, and killed by the Indians, except colonel Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderness until the year 1771, when he returned home. About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of several gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour westward for discoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and general Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchased from the five nations of Indians the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky. Colonel Donaldson of Virginia, being employed by the state to run a line from six miles above the Long Island, on Holstein, to the mouth of the great Kanaway, and finding thereby that an extensive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was solicited, by the inhabitants of Clench and Holstein, to purchase the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchase he completed for five hundred pounds, specie. It was then agreed to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Island on Holstein to the head of Kentucky river; thence down the same to the mouth; thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Great Kanaway; but this valuable purchase the state refused to confirm. Colonel Henderson, of North Carolina, being informed of this country by colonel Boon, he, and some other gentlemen, held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, and then

A. D. 1775. purchased from them the lands lying on the south side of Kentucky river for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of 6000l. specie. Soon after this purchase, the state of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money colonel Donaldson had contracted for, and then disputed colonel Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentleman of another state, in behalf of himself. For his eminent services, however, to this country, and for having been instrumental in making so valuable an acquisition to Virginia, that state was pleased to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green river, to the amount of 200,000 acres; and the state of North Carolina



lina gave him the like quantity in Powel's valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whose tide, if they had any, originated in such a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to possess it. Hence this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as soon as Mr. Henderfon and his friends proposed the purchase, the Indians agreed to sell; and notwithstanding the valuable consideration they received, have continued ever since troublesome neighbours to the new settlers. The progress in improvements and cultivation, which have been made in this country, almost exceeds belief. Eleven years ago Kentucky lay in forests, almost uninhabited but by wild beasts. Now, notwithstanding the united opposition of all the Indians, it exhibits an extensive settlement, divided into seven large and populous counties, in which are a number of flourishing little towns, containing more inhabitants than are in Georgia, Delaware, and Rhode-Island states, and nearly or quite as many as in New Hampshire. An instance of the like kind, where a settlement has had so large and rapid a growth, can scarcely be produced from the page of history. An idea may be formed of the astonishing emigrations to this country, from the following account taken by the adjutant of the troops, stationed at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum. From the 10th of October 1786, to the 12th of May 1787, were seen to pass 177 boats, containing 2689 souls, 1353 horses, 766 cattle, 112 waggons, and two phaetons, besides a very considerable number that passed in the night unobserved. It is at present peopled by above one hundred and fifty thousand settlers. From the interior settlements of this vast country, America will derive her future greatness, and establish new empires to rival, and perhaps outdo the ancient world.

The natural curiosities of Kentucky are astonishing and innumerable: caves are found amazingly large, in some of which you may travel several miles under a fine lime stone rock, supported by curious arches and pillars; in most of them run streams of water. Near Lexington are to be seen curious sepulchres, full of human skeletons. There are three springs, or ponds of bitumen near Green river; which discharge themselves into a common reservoir, and when used in lamps, answer all the purposes of the finest oil.\*

\* Morfe.

There are many alum banks, and different places abounding with copper, which, when refined, is equal to any in the world. At a salt spring near the Ohio river, very large bones have been found, far surpassing the size of any species of animals now in America; the head appears to have been considerably above three feet long. Doctor Hunter said it could not be the elephant, and that from the form of the teeth it must have been carnivorous, and belonging to a race of animals now extinct. Specimens have been sent both to France and England. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in these regions, where none such now exist, are very difficult questions, and variously resolved. The variety of conjectures serves only to prove the futility of all. Among the natural curiosities of this place, the winding banks or rather precipices of Kentucky river, are particularly deserving to be recorded. The astonished eye there beholds almost every where three or four hundred feet of a solid perpendicular lime stone rock; in some parts a fine white marble. These precipices are like the sides of a deep trench or canal; the land above is level, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar.

The warbling tenants of the grove are here numerous, and exhibit all the variety of feathered beauty, as well as the melody of sylvan song. The paroquet is common here, as is the ivory-bill wood-cock, of a whitish colour, with a white plume; the bill is pure ivory. Here is an owl like ours, but different in vociferation; it makes a surprising noise like a man in distress.

The state of *Vermont* is a vast country, situated eastward of New-Hampshire, south of Massachusetts, and west of New York. It is one hundred and fifty three miles in length, and sixty in breadth. The capital of the state is Bennington. The Allens are the chiefs or head men of the country. It is governed by its own laws, independent of Congress and the states. Hitherto it has been an object of contention between the states of New York and New Hampshire. The people had for a long time, no other name than Green Mountain boys, which they gallicized into *Verdmont*, and since corrupted into the easier pronunciation of *Vermont*.

The antique forests, into which the arm of man is just carrying the destructive axe, every where afford the most grand and sublime prospects. Little of the land of this state is yet cleared, but the emigrations to it from other states are considerable, and it will soon become well cultivated, and equal in fertility to the states in its neighbourhood. Its population is said already to amount to 150,000. The declaration which they made by their representatives in convention, at Windsor,

Windsor, on the 25th of December 1777, and which make a part of their constitution, breathes as high a spirit of liberty as that of any of their neighbours. They assert that all men are born equally free, with equal rights, and ought to enjoy liberty of conscience—freedom of the press—trial by jury—power to form new states in vacant countries, and to regulate their own internal police---that all elections ought to be free---that all power is originally in the people---that government ought to be instituted for the common benefit of the community---and that the community have a right to to reform or abolish government---that every member of society hath a right to protection of life, liberty, and property ---and in return, is bound to contribute his porportion of the expence of that protection, and yield his personal service when necessary---that he shall not be obliged to give evidence against himself---that the people have a right to bear arms ---but no standing army shall be maintained in time of peace ---that the people have a right to hold themselves, their houses, papers, and possessions free from search or seizure, and therefore warrants, without oaths first made, affording sufficient foundation for them, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted.

The states of New York and Pennsylvania have *large tracts of fertile land*, extending to the lakes, proper for the forming of settlements, and very capital ones have lately been made. This country will in future prove one of the most advantageous commercial situations in America, having in a manner, the key of Canada, and of all the northern Indian trade; the navigation extending from the western sea to the lakes, has no other obstruction than small portages, which, in time, will be converted into canals. The fur trade will chiefly centre in this country.

In the inland country of Virginia and North Carolina, the settlements, in many parts, extend to the mountains. In the eastern parts of Virginia, settlements have been made in the mountains themselves, where some industrious Germans, who found the land in the vallies taken up, have established considerable plantations. South Carolina has immense tracts of fertile land unfettled.

The state of Virginia, possessing lands on the other side of the mountains, (and having more immediate communication with the Ohio country on the river), many thousands have passed over them, and settled themselves in that tract which lies between the mountains and the river. It is said some emigrants have crossed that river, and settled in the country bordering on the lakes.



A  
V I E W  
OF  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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C H A P. I.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Articles of Confederation—New Constitution agreed to—  
Face of the Country—Curious Phenomena—Soil and pro-  
duce—Population—Literature—Influence of Slavery on  
Policy and Manners.*

**T**HE United States contain thirteen countries or provinces, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Besides these, several new states have lately arisen. These provinces were formerly known by the name of the British Colonies; but, after a long and destructive war, they were declared free, sovereign, and independent, states. A.D. 1783. Of the rise and progress of the American contest a particular account is given, in the view of the history of England.

No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonists to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the state legislatures. Articles of confederation

VOL. III. B and

## *Articles of Confederation.*

A. D. 1778. and perpetual union had been framed in congress, and submitted to the consideration of the states, in which they assumed the title of "The United States of America;" and by which each of the colonies contracted a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that might threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel, in common, all the attacks that might be levelled against all, or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever. Each of the colonies reserved to themselves alone, the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws on all matters not included in the articles of confederation. But for the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, it was determined, that delegates should be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state should direct, to meet in congress on the first Monday of November of every year, with a power reserved to each state to recal its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year. No state was to be represented in congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person was capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor was any person being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or any other for his benefit, should receive any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining questions in the United States in congress assembled, each state was to have one vote. Every state was to abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled, on all questions which were submitted to them by the confederation. The articles of confederation were to be inviolably observed by every state, and the union was to be perpetual; nor was any alteration, at any time hereafter, to be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state.

These articles however were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of coercive power in government; by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a system of government armed with the powers necessary to regulate and control the contending interest of thirteen states, and the possessions

essions of millions of people, might have raised a jealousy between the states, or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of war, and perhaps have rendered an union impracticable.

Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the conclusion of peace, these defects began to be felt. Each state assumed the right of disputing the propriety of the resolutions of Congress, and the interest of an individual state was placed in opposition to the common interest of the union. In addition to this source of division, a jealousy of the powers of congress began to be excited in the minds of the people. This jealousy of the privileges of freemen, had been roused by the oppressive acts of the British parliament; and no sooner had the danger from this quarter ceased, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned against their own rulers.

Without an union that was able to form and execute a general system of commercial regulations, some of the states attempted to impose restraints upon the British trade that should indemnify the merchant for the losses he had suffered, or induce the British ministry to enter into a commercial treaty and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. These measures however produced nothing but mischief. The states did not act in concert; and the restraints laid on the trade of one state operated to throw the business into the hands of its neighbour. Massachusetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the English navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon British goods imported into that state; but the other states did not adopt a similar measure; and the loss of business soon obliged that state to repeal or suspend the law. Thus when Pennsylvania laid heavy duties on British goods, Delaware and New-Jersey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of those states; and the duties in Pennsylvania served no purpose, but to create smuggling.

Thus divided, the states began to feel their weakness. Most of the legislatures had neglected to comply with the requisitions of congress for furnishing the federal treasury; the resolves of congress were disregarded; the proposition for a general impost to be laid and collected by congress was negatived first by Rhode-Island, and afterwards by New-York. The British troops continued to hold possession of the forts on the frontiers of the states, and thus commanded the fur  
Many of the states individually were infested with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppressed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had lost most of their value, and circulated merely as the ob-  
jects

jects of speculation; congress lost their respectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

In the midst of these calamities, a proposition A. D. 1785. was made, in the house of delegates in Virginia, to appoint commissioners, to meet such as might be appointed in the other states, who should form a system of commercial regulations for the United States, and recommend to the several legislatures for adoption. Commissioners were therefore appointed, and a request was made to the legislatures of the other states to accede to the proposition. Accordingly several of the states appointed commissioners, who met at Annapolis to consult what measures should be taken to unite the states in some general and efficient commercial system. But as the states were not all represented, and the powers of the commissioners were, in their opinion, too limited to propose a system of regulations adequate to the purposes of government, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the next year, with powers to frame a general plan of government for the United States. This measure appeared to the commissioners absolutely necessary. The old confederation was essentially defective. It was destitute of almost every principle necessary to give effect to legislation.

It was defective in the article of legislating over states, instead of individuals. All history testifies that recommendations will not operate as laws, and compulsion cannot be exercised over states, without violence, war, and anarchy. The confederation was also destitute of a sanction to its laws. When resolutions were passed in congress, there was no power to compel obedience by fine, by suspension of privileges, or other means. It was also destitute of a guarantee for the state governments. Had one state been invaded by its neighbour, the union was not constitutionally bound to assist in repelling the invasion, and supporting the constitution of the invaded state. The confederation was further deficient in the principle of apportioning the quotas of money to be furnished by each state; in a want of power to form commercial laws, and to raise troops for the defence and security of the union; in the equal suffrage of the states, which placed Rhode-island on a ~~level~~ <sup>footing</sup> in congress with Virginia; and to crown all the defects, we may add the want of judiciary power, to define the laws of the union, and to reconcile the contradictory decisions of a number of independent judicatories.

These and many inferior defects were obvious to the commissioners, and therefore they urged a general convention, with powers to form and offer to the consideration of the states, a system of general government that should be less exceptionable.

ceptionable. Accordingly, in May, delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia; and chose general Washington for their president. After four months deliberation, in which the clashing interests of the several states appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of the federal government. As soon as the federal constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the several states, they proceeded to take measures for collecting the sense of the people upon the propriety of adopting it. In the small state of Delaware, a convention was called in November, which, after a few days deliberation, ratified the constitution, without a dissenting voice.

In the convention of Pennsylvania, held the same month, there was a spirited opposition to the new form of government. The debates were long and interesting. Great abilities and firmness were displayed on both sides; but on the 13th of December, the constitution was received by two thirds of the members. The minority were dissatisfied, and with an obstinacy that ill became the representatives of a free people, published their reasons of dissent, which were calculated to inflame a party already violent, and which, in fact, produced some disturbances in the western parts of the state. But the opposition has since gradually subsided.

In New-Jersey, the convention which met in December were unanimous in adopting the constitution; as was likewise that of Georgia.

In Connecticut there was some opposition; but the constitution was, on the 9th of January, ratified by three fourths of the votes in convention, and the minority peaceably acquiesced in the decision.

In Massachusetts, the opposition was numerous and respectable. The convention, consisting of more than three hundred delegates, were assembled in January, and continued their debates with great candor and liberality, about five weeks. At length the question was carried for the constitution by a small minority, and the majority, with that manly condescension which becomes great minds, submitted to the measure, and united to support the government.

In New Hampshire, the federal cause was, for some time, doubtful. The greatest number of the delegates in convention were at first on the side of the opposition; and some, who might have had their objections removed by the discussion of the subject, were instructed by their constituents to reject the constitution. An adjournment was therefore moved and carried.

This gave the people opportunity to gain a farther knowledge



of the merits of the constitution, and at a second meeting of the convention, it was ratified by a respectable majority.

In Maryland, several men of abilities appeared in the opposition, and were unremitting in their endeavours to persuade the people, that the proposed plan of government was artfully calculated to deprive them of their dearest rights; yet in the convention it appeared that five-sixths of the voices were in favour of it.

In South Carolina, the opposition was respectable; but two-thirds of the convention appeared to be advocates for the constitution.

In Virginia, many of the principal characters opposed the ratification of the constitution with great abilities and industry. But after a full discussion of the subject, a small majority of a numerous convention appeared for its adoption.

In New-York, two-thirds of the delegates in the convention, were, at their first meeting, determined to reject the constitution. Here therefore the debates were the most interesting, and the event extremely doubtful. The argument was managed with uncommon address and abilities on both sides of the question. But during the session, the ninth and tenth states had acceded to the proposed plan, so that by the constitution, congress were empowered to issue an ordinance for organizing the new government. This event placed the opposition on new ground; and the expediency of uniting with the other states. The generous motives of conciliating all differences, and the danger of a rejection, influenced a respectable number, who originally opposed the constitution, to join the federal interest. The constitution was accordingly ratified by a small majority; but the ratification was accompanied here, as in Virginia, with a bill of rights, declaratory of the sense of the convention as to certain great principles, and with a catalogue of amendments, which were to be recommended to the consideration of the new congress, and the several state legislatures.

North Carolina met in convention in July, to deliberate on the new constitution. After a short session they rejected it, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-six against seventy-six. This is the first state that has, in a formal manner rejected the constitution. Upon what principle they did it, it is difficult to tell, and delicate to conjecture. The miseries that will probably arise from their separation from the union, and their internal divisions, may eventually occasion a reconsideration. It is certain that their rejection of the new plan of government, will have no effect in impeding its organization and establishment between the ratifying states.

Rhode

Rhode Island was doomed to be the sport of a blind and singular policy. The legislature, in consistency with the measures which had been before pursued, did not call a convention, to collect the sense of the state upon the proposed constitution, but in an unconstitutional and absurd manner, submitted the plan of government to the consideration of the people. Accordingly it was brought before town-meetings, and in most of them rejected. In some of the large towns, particularly in Newport and Providence, the people collected and resolved, with great propriety, that they could not take up the subject; and that the proposition for embracing or rejecting the federal constitution, could come before no tribunal but that of the *State* in convention or legislature. It is hoped that the very respectable minority, who have ever strenuously opposed the proceedings of the infatuated majority, will, by their prudent and persevering exertions, effect the salvation of the state. New York rejected the proceedings of the first Congress, and Georgia refused to send delegates; yet in two years after they were both among the foremost in supporting our independence. In two years North Carolina and Rhode Island may be as warmly engaged in supporting, as they are now in opposing the constitution. If we may judge from their present situations, they have more need of an efficient government than any state in the union.

From the moment the proceedings of the general convention at Philadelphia transpired, the public mind was exceedingly agitated, and suspended between hope and fear, until nine states had ratified their plan of a federal government. Indeed the anxiety continued until Virginia and New York had acceded to the system. But this did not prevent the demonstrations of their joy, on the accession of each state.

On the ratification in Massachusetts, the citizens of Boston, in the elevation of their joy, formed a procession in honour of the happy event, which was novel, splendid, and magnificent. This example was afterwards followed, and in some instances improved upon, in Baltimore, Charleston, Philadelphia, New Haven, Portsmouth, and New York, successively. Nothing could equal the beauty and grandeur of these exhibitions. A ship was mounted upon wheels, and drawn through the streets; mechanics erected stages, and exhibited specimens of labour in their several occupations, as they moved along the road; flags with emblems, descriptive of all the arts and of the federal union, were invented and displayed in honour of the government; multitudes in all ranks of life assembled to view the majestic

scenes; while sobriety, joy, and harmony marked the brilliant exhibitions by which the Americans celebrated the establishment of their empire\*.

With regard to the *face of the country*, the tract of territory belonging to the United States, is happily variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. Some parts are rocky, particularly New England, the north parts of New York, and New Jersey, and a broad space, including the several ridges of the long range of mountains which run south-westward through Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic, from those which fall into the Mississippi. In the parts east of the Allegany mountains, in the southern states, the country for several hundred miles in length and sixty or seventy, and sometimes more, in breadth, is level, and entirely free of stone. It has been a question agitated by the curious, whether the extensive tract of low, flat country, which fronts the several states south of New York, and extends back to the hills, has remained in its present form and situation ever since the flood; or whether it has been made by the particles of earth which have been washed down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumulation of soil from the decay of vegetable substances; or by earth washed out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf stream, and lodged on the coast; or by the recess of the ocean, occasioned by a change in some other part of the earth. Several phænomena deserve consideration in forming an opinion on this question. 1. It is a fact well known to every person of observation who has lived in, or travelled through the southern states, that marine shells and other substances which are peculiar to the sea-shore, are almost invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth. Some time ago, a gentleman, in sinking a well many miles from the sea, found, at the depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a salt marsh, that is, marsh-grass, marsh-mud, and brackish-water. In all this flat country, until you come to the hilly land, wherever you dig a well, you find the water, at a certain depth fresh and tolerably good; but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you come to a saltish or brackish water that is scarcely drinkable; and the earth dug up, resembles, in appearance and smell, that which is dug upon the edges of the salt marshes. 2. On and near the margin of the rivers, are frequently found sand hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges by the force of the water. At the bottom of some of the banks in the rivers, fifteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth, are washed out from the solid

\* Morse.

ground, logs, branches, and leaves of trees; and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears streaked with layers of logs, leaves and sand. These appearances are seen far up the rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from the sea, where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers toward the sea, the banks decrease in height, but still are formed of layers of sand, leaves and logs, some of which are entirely sound, and appear to have been suddenly covered to a considerable depth. 3. It has been observed, that the rivers in the southern states frequently vary their channels; that the swamps and low grounds are constantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that no longer ago than 1771, at Cape Lookout, on the coast of North Carolina, in about latitude 34 deg. 50 min. there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred sail of shipping at a time, in a good depth of water. It is now entirely filled up, and is solid ground. Instances of this kind are frequent along the coast. It is observable, likewise, that there is a gradual descent of about eight hundred feet, by measurement, from the foot of the mountains to the sea brink. This descent continues, as is demonstrated, by soundings, far into the sea. 4. It is worthy of observation, that the soil on the banks of the rivers is proportionably coarse or fine, according to its distance from the mountains. When you first leave the mountains, and for a considerable distance, it is observable that the soil is coarse, with a large mixture of sand and shining heavy particles. As you proceed towards the sea, the soil is less coarse, and so on in proportion as you advance the soil is finer and finer, until, finally, is deposited a soil so fine, that it consolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a particular quality, for a great part of it has intermixed with it reddish streaks and veins like a species of *Ochre*, brought probably from the *red lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and exposed to the weather, will dissolve into a fine mould without the least mixture of sand or any gritty substance whatever. Now we know that running water, when turbid, will deposit, first, the coarsest and heaviest particles, afterwards those of the several intermediate degrees of fineness, and ultimately those which are the most light and subtile; and such in fact is the general quality of the soil on the banks of the southern rivers. 5. It is a well known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the sea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable

collection of oyster shells of an uncommon size. They run in a north east and south west direction, nearly parallel with the sea coast, in three distinct ridges, which together occupy a space of seven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Savannah river, and have been traced as far south as the northern branches of the Altamaha river. They are found in such quantities, as that the indigo planters carry them away in large boat loads, for the purpose of making lime water, to be used in the manufacture of indigo. There are thousands and thousands of tons still remaining. The question is, how came they here? It cannot be supposed that they were carried by land. Neither is it probable that they were conveyed in canoes, or boats, to such a distance from the place where oysters are now found. The uncivilized natives, agreeably to their roving manner of living, would rather have removed to the sea shore, than have been at such immense labour in procuring oysters. Besides the difficulties of conveying them would have been insurmountable. They would not only have had a strong current in the river against them, an obstacle which would not have been easily overcome by the Indians, who have ever had a great aversion to labour, but could they have surmounted this difficulty, oysters, conveyed such a distance either by land or water, in so warm a climate, would have spoiled on the passage, and have become useless. The circumstance of these shells being found in such quantities, at so great a distance from the sea, can be rationally accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that the sea shore was formerly near this bed of shells, and that the ocean has since, by the operation of certain causes not yet fully investigated receded. These phenomena, it is presumed, will authorize this conclusion, That a great part of the flat country which spreads easterly of the Allegany mountains, had, in some past period, a superincumbent sea; or rather that the constant accretion of soil, from the various causes before hinted at, has forced it to retire.

As to *mountains* we may observe, that the tract of country east of Hudson's river, comprehending part of the State of New-York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in some parts mountainous; but the mountains are comparatively small, in few instances more than five or six hundred yards in height, and generally less. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this western continent, it is observable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually rises; and the height of land, in common, is about equally distant from the water on either side. The Andes in South America

rica form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

That range of mountains, of which the shining mountains are a part, begins at Mexico, and continuing northwards on the east of California, separates the waters of those numerous rivers that fall into the gulf of Mexico or the gulf of California. Thence continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South-Sea, they appear to end in about 47 and 48 deg. of north latitude; where a number of rivers rise, and empty themselves either into the South-Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas.

The Highlands between the Province of Main and the Province of Quebec, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence north, and into the Atlantic south. The Green Mountains in Vermont divide the waters which flow easterly into Connecticut river, from those which fall westerly into Lake Champlain and Hudson's river. Between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-easterly and south-westerly, nearly parallel with the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty, and two hundred miles in length. A late traveller\* observes, with respect to that part of these mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back parts of Pennsylvania, that scarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the case in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compose this immense range of mountains, have different names in different states.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the first ridge in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain; which is from one hundred and thirty, to two hundred miles from the sea. This is about four thousand feet high, measuring from its base. Between this and the North Mountain, spreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond this is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a spur of which, about latitude 36 deg. is a spring of water fifty feet deep, very cold, and as blue as indigo. From the several ridges proceed innumerable nameless branches or spurs. The Kittatinny Mountains run through the northern parts of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. All these ridges, except the Allegany, are se-

\* Mr. Evans.

parated by rivers, which appear to have forced their passages through solid rocks.

The principal ridge is the *Alleghany*, which has been descriptively called the *back bone* of the United States. The general name for these mountains, taken collectively, seems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endless Mountains*: others have called them the *Appalachian Mountains*, from a tribe of Indians, who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain, called the *Appalachikola*. But the most common, and without doubt the most proper name, is the *Alleghany Mountains*, so called from the principal ridge of the range. These mountains are not confusedly scattered and broken, rising here and there into high peaks overtopping each other, but stretch along in uniform ridges, scarcely half a mile high. They spread as you proceed south, and some of them terminate in high perpendicular cliffs. Others gradually subside into a level country, giving rise to the rivers which run southerly into the gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phenomena, from which naturalists have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimsical enough: Mr. Evans supposes that the most obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and shells, which escaped the fate of "foster animal substances, we find mixed with the "old materials, and elegantly preserved in the loose stones and "rocky bases of the highest of these hills." These appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by supposing the reality of the flood, of which Moses has given us an account. But Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge when made, or to create one new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not less credible than the latter. "These "mountains," says our author, "existed in their present "elevated height before the deluge, but not so bare of soil as "now." How Mr. Evans came to be so circumstantially acquainted with these pretended facts, it is difficult to determine, unless we suppose him to have been an Antediluvian, and to have surveyed them accurately before the convulsions of the deluge; and until we can be fully assured of this, we must be excused in not assenting to his opinion, and in adhering to the old philosophy of Moses and his advocates. We have every reason to believe that the primitive state of the earth was totally metamorphosed by the first convulsion of nature at the time of the deluge; that *the fountains of the great deep*

*deep were indeed broken up*, and that the various *strata* of the earth were dissevered, and thrown into every possible degree of confusion and disorder. Hence those vast piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth; and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vast number of fossils and other marine exuviae, which are found imbedded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the sea in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumstances attending these marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived, and died in the very beds wherein they are found; and therefore these beds must have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now, in many instances, elevated several miles above its surface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but at a very distant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *strata* to have acquired their greatest degree of cohesion and hardness; and, for the testaceous matter of marine shells to become changed to a stony substance; for, in the fissures of the lime-stone and other strata, fragments of the same shall have been frequently found adhering to each side of the cleft, in the very state in which they were originally broken; so that if the several parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very considerable time therefore must have elapsed between the chaotic state of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moses, who makes it a little upwards of sixteen hundred years. These observations are intended to shew, in one instance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reason, between the account which Moses gives us of the creation and deluge, and the present appearances of nature \*.

The *soil* of the United States, though so various that few general observations will apply, may be said to be equal to that of any country in the known world. Among the great variety of its productions are the following: Indian corn is a native grain of America, from whence all the other parts of the world have been supplied. It agrees with all climates from the equator to latitude 45. The bunched Guinea-corn is a small grain, cultivated by the negroes in the southern states, and affords a fine food for poultry. The spiked Indian corn is of a similar kind. Rice

\* Morse's American Geography. Whitehurst's Inquiry into the original State and Formation of the Earth.



was first brought into Carolina, by fir Nathaniel Johnston, and afterwards by a ship from Madagascar; till which time it was not much cultivated. It flourishes only in Georgia and the Carolinas. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to cultivate it in Virginia. The wild rice is a grain which grows in the greatest plenty in some of the interior parts of North America, and is the most valuable of all the spontaneous productions of the country. It is of a very sweet and nutritious quality, and, in future periods, may be of great service to infant colonies, in affording them a support, until, in the course of cultivation, other supplies may be obtained. This useful grain grows in the water where it is about two feet deep, and in a rich muddy soil. In its stalk, ears, and manner of growing it, very much resembles oats. It is gathered by the Indians in the following manner. About the time that it begins to turn from its milky state and to ripen, they run their canoes into the midst of it, and tying bunches of it together just below the ears, they leave it in this situation for three or four weeks, till it is perfectly ripe. At the end of this time, commonly about the last of September, they return to the river, and placing their canoes close to the bunches of rice, in such position as to receive the grain when it falls, they beat it out with pieces of wood formed for that purpose. Having done this, they dry it with smoke, and then tread or rub off the outside husk, after which it is fit for use.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats, are cultivated throughout the states, some few parts excepted. In Pennsylvania is a kind of grain called spelts, which grows much like wheat. The grain, however, is better covered, and is good food for horses. The flour made from it is very white, and is frequently mixed with wheat flour for bread. This grain might probably be successfully introduced into the New England states. Potatoes are said to have been originally produced in America. They are of many kinds, and are raised in great quantities. The sweet, or Carolina potatoe, does not thrive well in northern climates, nor do other kinds in the lower parts of the southern states. The culinary roots and plants are beets, carrots, parsnips, turneps, radishes, peas, beans, cabbages, cauliflowers, endive, celery, angelica, lettuce, asparagus, peppergrafs, leeks, onions, water-melons, musk-melons, cantelopes, which are a species of the musk-melon, but much superior in richness and flavour; cucumbers, mandrakes, pumpkins, squashes, &c. Besides these there are several other roots, and plants of a medicinal kind, such as elecampane, spikenard, or petty-morrel, farsaparilla, liquorice, snake-root, gold-thread

bread, solomon's-seal, devils-bit, horse-radish, and blood-root.

The gold-thread is of the vine kind, and grows in swamps. The roots spread themselves just under the surface of the morass, and are easily drawn out by handfuls. They resemble a large entangled skein of silk, and are of a bright yellow. It is exceedingly bitter in taste, and is an excellent remedy for a forenet in the mouth. Devils-bit is a wild plant that has the print of teeth in its roots. The Indians have a tradition, that this root was once an universal remedy for all diseases; but some evil spirit, envying mankind the possession of so efficacious a medicine, gave the root a bite, which deprived it of great part of its virtue: hence its name. Blood-root is a sort of plantain that springs out of the ground in six or seven long rough leaves, the veins of which are red; the root of it is like a small pea; when broken, the inside is of a deeper colour than the outside, and distils several drops of juice that looks like blood. This juice is a strong, but dangerous emetic.

Of the various aromatic and other kinds of herbs are balm, savory, thyme, sage, balsam, sweet majoram, hyssop, tansey, mint, penny-oyal, fennel, yarrow, may-weed, gurgit, skunk-cabbage, or poke, wake-robin, bittany, scabious, mulien, wild-pease, mouse-ear, wild indigo, cat-mint, or, as it is sometimes called, catnip, nettles, cinque-foil, eyebright, fennel, plantain of several kinds, maiden-hair, burdock, field-dock, rock-liverwort, noble-liverwort, blood-wort, mother-wort, wild beans, ground-ivy, water-cresses, &c.

Apples are the most common fruit in the United States. They grow in the greatest plenty and variety in the northern and middle states, and in the interior, but not in the maritime parts of the southern. In the low country of Georgia, the Carolinas, and some other states, grows a sort of wild crab-apple. The blossoms are fragrant, the fruit is small and sour, and makes an excellent preserve or sweet meat. Besides apples, there are pears, peaches, quinces, apricots, nectarines, plums, cherries of many kinds, currants, gooseberries, blackberries, bilberries, whortl berries, strawberries, mulberries, cranberries, &c. Of the nuts, there are chestnuts, black wal-nuts, hiccory-nuts, butter-nuts, beech-nuts, hazle-nuts, filberts, and illinois-nuts, or pecan-nuts. These fruits grow in great abundance and perfection in almost every part of North America. Figs, oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, are not natural to any state north of the Carolinas. Grapes of several sorts grow spontaneously in several provinces.

With

With regard to *population*; from the best accounts that can at present be obtained, there are, within the limits of the United States, three million eighty-three thousand and six hundred souls. This number, which is rapidly increasing, both by emigrations from Europe, and by natural population, is composed of people of almost all nations, languages, characters, and religions. The greater part, however, are descended from the English; and, for the sake of distinction, are called Anglo-Americans.

The natural genius of Americans, says the celebrated geographer \* of that country, has suffered much in the descriptions of some ingenious and eloquent European writers. The assertion of the Abbé Raynal, that "America has not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or a single science," produced the following reply from one of their learned writers †.

"When we shall have existed as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true, we will enquire from what unfriendly causes it has proceeded, that the other countries of Europe, and quarters of the earth, should not have inscribed any name in the roll of poets? In war, we have produced a *Washington*, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries; whose name will triumph over time, and will, in future ages, assume its just station amongst the most celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten which would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature. In physics, we have produced a *Franklin*, than whom no one of the present age has made more important discoveries, nor has enriched philosophy with more ingenious solutions of the phenomena of nature. We have supposed Mr. Rittenhouse second to no Astronomer living; that, in genius, he must be the first, because he is self-taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived, from the creation to this day. As in philosophy and war, so in government, in oratory, in painting, in the plastic art, we might shew that America, though but a child of yesterday, has already given hopeful proofs of genius, as well of nobler kinds, which arouse the best feelings of man, which

\* Mr. Morse. † Mr. Jefferson.

call him into action, which substantiate his freedom, and conduct him to happiness, as of the subordinate, which serve to amuse him. We therefore suppose, that this reproach is as unjust as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuses which adorn the present age, America contributes its full share. For, comparing it with those countries, where genius is most cultivated, where are the most excellent models for art, and scaffoldings for the attainment of science, as France and England, for instance, we calculate thus: The United States contain three millions of inhabitants; France twenty millions; and the British islands ten. We produce a Washington, a Franklin, a Rittenhouse. France then should have had a dozen in each of these lines, and Great Britain half that number equally eminent\*.

The *literature* of the United States is very flourishing. Their progress in the art of war, in the science of government, in philosophy and astronomy, in poetry, and the various liberal arts and sciences, has, for so young a country, been astonishing. Colleges are instituted in all the states north of North Carolina excepting Delaware, and liberal provision is making for their establishment in the others. These colleges are generally well furnished with libraries, apparatus, instructors and students. The late important revolution has called to historic fame many noble and distinguished characters, who might otherwise have slept in oblivion.

But while the fair side of the character of Federo-Americans is exhibited, their faults must not be forgotten. It has been justly observed, that "if there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and, with the other, brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves." Though much has been written of late to shew the injustice and iniquity of enslaving the Africans, I shall here introduce a few observations respecting the influence of slavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From repeated and accurate calculations it has been found, that the expence of maintaining a slave, especially if we include the purchase money, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man. Influenced by the powerful motive of gain, he is at least twice as profitable to the employer as a slave. Slavery is the bane of industry. It renders labour among the whites not only unfashionable but disreputable. Industry is the offspring of necessity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes this necessity; and indolence, which strikes at the root of all social and political happiness, is the unhappy consequence.

\* Morfe.

These observations, without adding any thing upon the injustice of the practice, shew that slavery is impolitic. Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wenches in many, perhaps I may say in most instances, are nurses to their mistresses children. The infant babe as soon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurse, and perhaps seldom or never tastes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and constantly associating with the negroes, too often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals; and contract a *negroish* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To these may be added the observations of a native\* on the unhappy influence of slavery, on the manners of our people. "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals, undepraved by such circumstances: and with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another. With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in warm climates no man will labour for himself, who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, very few indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God?"

\* Mr. Jefferson.

Under the federal government which is now established, there is reason to believe that all slaves in the United States will in time be emancipated, in a manner most consistent with their own happiness, and the true interest of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by transporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in some part of our own territory, and extending to them our alliance and protection until they shall have acquired strength sufficient for their own defence; or by incorporation with the whites; or in some other way, remains to be determined. All these methods are attended with difficulties\*.

The first would be cruel; the second dangerous; and the latter disagreeable and unnatural. Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinction which nature has made; besides many other circumstances which would tend to divide them into parties, and produce convulsions, are objections against retaining and incorporating the blacks with the citizens of the several states. But justice and humanity demand that these difficulties should be surmounted.

In the middle and northern states there are comparatively but few slaves; and of course there is less difficulty in giving them their freedom. Societies for the manumission of slaves have been instituted in Philadelphia and New-York; and laws have been enacted, and other measures taken in the New-England states to accomplish the same purpose. The *Friends*, (commonly called Quakers) have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodness in setting on foot and their vigorous exertions in executing, this truly humane and benevolent design.

The English language is universally spoken in the United States. It is spoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New-England, by persons of education; and, excepting some few corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and southern states, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language in many instances is corrupted, especially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the states, which for political as well as other reasons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and eminent characters. Intermingled with the Anglo-Americans are the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, Swedes and Jews; all these, except the Scotch and Irish, retain, in a greater or less degree, their native language, in which they perform their pub-

\* Morse.

lic worship, converse, and transact their business with each other.

The six following chapters contain short histories of each of the United States.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of the Provinces of New England.*

NEW England is divided into four states, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Its metropolis, Boston, is a large handsome and well built city, standing on a peninsula about nine miles from the mouth of Massachusetts's bay. It has a noble pier, near two thousand feet in length; along which, on the north side, extends a row of warehouses for the merchants, and to this pier ships of the greatest burthen may come and unload, without the help of boats. The greatest part of the town lies round the harbour, in the shape of a half moon; the country beyond it rising gradually, and affording a delightful prospect from the sea. The head of the pier joins the principal street of the town, which is like most of the others, spacious and well built. Boston contains, at present, about eighteen thousand inhabitants; fifty years ago they were more numerous. The surprising increase of Newbury port, Salem, Marblehead, Cape Anne, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and the island of Nantucket, hath checked the growth and trade of the capital. The trade of Boston was, however, so very considerable, that, in the year 1768, twelve hundred sail entered or cleared at the Custom-house there. Both the town and trade of Boston greatly suffered during the war with Great Britain; but since that time the trade of Boston has again considerably increased.

New England has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by a turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not succeed, and for some time after, there were only a few adven-

traders who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America in the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. Some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in the new hemisphere. They, therefore, purchased in 1621, the charter of the English North-Virginia company; for they were not reduced to such a state of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till prosperity became the reward of their virtues. Forty-one families, making in all one hundred and twenty persons, set out under the guidance of enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either by cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive, for some time, by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had acquired under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones, all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds, with domestic animals, and with every assistance they wanted. At first these succours arrived but slowly; but the persecution of the puritans in England increased, as usual, the number of proselytes to such a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been deprived of their preferment on account of their opinions, nor those sectaries influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons



of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a state of subordination; or rather a severity of manners had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

The inhabitants of New-England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. Not that their charter had not authorized them to establish any mode of government they might chuse, but these enthusiasts were not agreed among themselves upon the plan of their republic; and government did not pay sufficient attention to them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation, and this great work, which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except he were a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. Marriages, however, were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at two shillings and eleven pence halfpenny per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them; and Europeans were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But, at the same time, that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might be allowed to swear by paying a penalty of eleven pence three farthings, and to break the sabbath for two pounds nineteen shillings and nine pence three farthings. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was also inflicted on Roman catholic priests, who should return to the colony after they had been banished; and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded,

branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was liable to pay a considerable fine.

Those unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This was considered as blasphemy by those very divines, who had rather chosen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural propensity of the human heart which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital punishment on all who dissented. Those who were either convicted, or even suspected of entertaining sentiments of toleration, were exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and as New-England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony.

"It is a circumstance universally acknowledged, that the custom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral persons and of the savage Indians, can only have been introduced into England, but in sacrilegious contempt of the express command of God, who declares that it is a shameful practice for any man who has the least care for his soul to wear long hair. As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious persons; we, the magistrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expressly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious custom of letting the hair grow; a custom which we look upon to be very indecent and dishonest, which horribly disguises men, and is offensive to modest and sober persons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being justly incensed against this scandalous custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request all the elders of our continent, zealously to shew their aversion to this odious practice; to exert all their power to put a stop to it, and especially to take care that

the members of their church be not infected with it; in order that those persons, who, notwithstanding these rigorous prohibitions, and the means of correction that shall be used on this account, shall still persist in this custom, may have both God and man at the same time against them."

This severity, which a man exercises against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and which makes him first the victim, then the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who, in the midst of tortures and ignominy, praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence. They caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs? This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his restoration, had introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could have possibly secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that sir Henry Vane who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obsti-

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nate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free-will. This dispute upon these points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town in New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her, by harsh treatment, to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions, which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, casually named, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the most dignified employments of the state, were no security against the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fanaticism, wickedness and vengeance united, selected their victims at pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates,

strates, tired out with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they tolerated; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent quitted a country stained with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained wished only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected, when, on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that Heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased, like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are expelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation, and all the puritans of New England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

But though the colony has renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some remains, if not of intoleration, at least of severity, which reminds us of those melancholy days in which it took its rise.

*New Hampshire* is divided into counties and townships. Its metropolis is Portsmouth, a town handsomely built and pleasantly situated. This state, embosoming a number of very high mountains, and lying in the neighbourhood of

others, whose towering summits are covered with snow and ice, three quarters of the year, is intensely cold in the winter season. The heat of summer is great, but of short duration. The cold braces the constitution, and renders the labouring people healthy and robust. There is no characteristic difference between the inhabitants of this and the New England states. The ancient inhabitants of New Hampshire were emigrants from England. Their posterity, mixed with emigrants from Massachusetts, fill the lower and middle towns. Emigrants from Connecticut compose the largest part of the inhabitants of the western towns, adjoining Connecticut river. Slaves there are none. Negroes, who were never numerous in New Hampshire, are all free by the first article of the Bill of Rights.

The commonwealth of Massachusetts is divided into fourteen counties. In Boston, the capital of this province (and, as we have before observed, of all New England) there are seventy-nine streets, thirty-eight lanes, and twenty-one alleys, exclusive of squares and courts. There are also eighty wharfs and quays, very convenient for vessels. Next to Pennsylvania, this state has the greatest number of societies for the promotion of useful knowledge and human happiness; and as they are founded on the broad basis of *benevolence* and *charity*, they cannot fail to prosper. These institutions, which are fast increasing in almost every state in the union, are so many evidences of the advanced and advancing state of civilization and improvement in this country. They prove likewise, that a free republican government, like ours, is of all others the most happily calculated to promote a general diffusion of useful knowledge, and the most favourable to the benevolent and humane feelings of the human heart.

*Rhode Island* is divided into five counties. The inhabitants are chiefly of English extraction. Newport and Providence are the two principal towns. It is an exceedingly pleasant and healthy country; and is celebrated for its fine women. Travellers, with propriety, call it the *Eden* of America.

*Connecticut* is divided into eight counties, and is the most populous in proportion to its extent of any of the thirteen states. It is laid out in small farms, from fifty to three or four hundred acres each, which are held by the farmers in fee simple, and are generally cultivated as well as the nature of the soil will admit. The state is chequered with innumerable roads or highways, crossing each other in

every direction. A traveller, in any of these roads, even in the most unsettled parts of the state, will seldom pass more than two or three miles without finding a house or cottage, and a farm under such improvements as to afford the necessaries for the support of a family. The whole state resembles a well cultivated garden; which, with that degree of industry that is necessary to happiness, produces the necessaries and conveniences of life in great plenty.

The people of *Connecticut* are remarkably fond of having all their disputes, even those of the most trivial kind, settled according to law. The prevalence of this litigious spirit, affords employment and support for a numerous body of lawyers.

With regard to the government of the provinces of New England, there were originally three sorts of governments established by the English on the continent of America, viz. royal governments, charter governments, and proprietary governments. A royal government was properly so called, because the colony was immediately dependent on the crown, and the king remained sovereign of the colony; he appointed the governor, council, and officers of state; and the people only elected the representatives, as in England; such were the governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, Virginia, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, East and West Florida, the West Indies, and the island of St. John's. A charter government was so called, because the company incorporated by the king's charter, were in a manner vested with sovereign authority, to establish what sort of government they thought fit; and these charter governments have generally transferred their authority to the people; for, in such governments, or rather corporations, the free-men did not only choose their representatives, but annually chose their governor, council, and magistrates, and made laws without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge, of the king; and were under no other restraint than this, that they enacted no laws contrary to the laws of England; if they did, their charters were liable to be forfeited. Such, as we have already observed, were the governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut in New England, and such was that of the Massachusetts formerly, though some alterations were afterwards made in it. Such likewise were those of the two Carolinas. The third kind of government was the *proprietary*, properly so called, because the proprietor was invested with sovereign authority: he appointed the governor, council, and magistrates, and the representatives were summoned in his name; and by their advice he enacted laws without the concurrence of the crown

crown; but, by a late statute, the proprietor was to have the king's consent in the appointing a governor, when he did not reside in the plantation in person, and of a deputy-governor, when he did. And all the governors of the plantations were liable to be called to an account for their administration, by the court of King's Bench. The only proprietary governors lately subsisting, were those of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

But the government of New England has been in great measure changed, in consequence of the revolt of the colonies from the authority of Great Britain. A constitution, or ~~form~~ of government for the commonwealth of Massachusetts, including a declaration of rights, was agreed to, and established by the inhabitants of that province, and took place in October 1780. In the preamble to this it was declared, that the end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and that whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their prosperity and happiness. They expressed their gratitude to the great Legislator of the Universe, for having afforded them, in the course of his providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other; and of forming a new constitution of civil government for themselves and their posterity. They declared that it was the right, as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons to worship the Supreme Being; and that no subject should be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he did not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

It was also enacted, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, should, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. That all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers, should, if he required it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there were any on  
whose



whose instructions he attended; otherwise it might be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said monies should be raised. That every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, should be equally protected by the law; and that no subordination of any sect or denomination to another, should ever be established.

It was likewise declared, that as all power resided originally in the people, and was derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, and their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. That no subject should be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. That the legislature should not make any law subjecting any person to a capital or infamous punishment, except for the government of the army or navy, without trial by jury. That the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; and that it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in that commonwealth. That the people have a right to keep, and to bear arms, for the common defence; but that, as in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and that the military power should always be held in an exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

It was likewise enacted, that the department of the legislation should be formed of two branches, a senate, and a house of representatives, each of which should have a negative on the other. That the senators, and the members of the house of representatives should be elected annually, and that every male person being twenty-one years of age, or upwards, who had resided in any particular town in the commonwealth for the space of one year, and having a freehold estate within the said town, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds, should have a right to vote for senators and representatives of the district of which he was an inhabitant. It was likewise enacted, that there should be a supreme executive magistrate, who should be styled the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and also a lieutenant-governor, both of whom should be chosen annually, by the whole body of electors in the commonwealth, and assisted by  
nine

nine counsellors, chosen by ballot, out of the senate. The secretary, treasurer, receiver general, notaries public, and naval officers, are chosen annually by the senators and representatives, or general court. The governor has a negative on bills sent for assent from the general court, but has no control on their choice of officers.

The state of Rhode Island continues to admit their original charter as the rule of their government, because it contains an ample grant of all powers legislative, executive, and judicial.

The constitution of New Hampshire, which was adopted in 1784, is taken almost verbatim, from that of Massachusetts. The principal differences, except such as arise from local circumstances, are the following. The titles of the constitutions, and of the supreme magistrates in each state, are different. In one it is *governor* of the *commonwealth* of Massachusetts; in the other *president* of the *state* of New Hampshire. In each state, the supreme magistrate has the title of *His Excellency*. The president of New Hampshire, like the governor of Massachusetts has not the power of negating all bills and resolves of the senate and house of representatives, and of preventing their passing into laws, unless approved of by two thirds of the members present. In New Hampshire the president of the state presides in the senate; in Massachusetts the senate choose their own president. There are no other differences worth mentioning, except it be in the mode of appointing militia officers, in which New Hampshire has greatly the advantage of Massachusetts.

It is difficult to say what the constitution of Connecticut is. Contented with the form of government, which originated from the charter of Charles II. A. D. 1662. the people have not been disposed to run the hazard of framing a new constitution since the declaration of independence. They have tacitly adopted their old charter as the ground of civil government, so far as it is applicable to an independent people. The mode of electing the governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer and secretary is as follows. The freemen in the several towns meet on Monday the next after the first Tuesday in April annually, and give in their votes for the persons they choose for the said offices respectively, with their names written on a piece of paper, which are received and sealed up by a constable in open meeting, the votes for each office by themselves, with the name of the town and office written on the outside. These votes, thus sealed, are sent to the general assembly in May, and there counted by a committee from  
both

both houses. All freemen are eligible to any office in government. In choosing assistants, twenty persons are nominated, by the vote of each freeman, at the freeman's meeting for choosing representatives in September annually. These votes are sealed up, and sent to the general assembly in October, and are there counted by a committee of both houses, and the twenty persons who have the most votes stand in nomination, out of which number the twelve who have the greatest number of votes, given by the freemen at their meeting in April, are, in May, declared assistants in the manners above mentioned. The qualifications of freemen, are maturity in years—quiet and peaceable behaviour—a civil conversation, and freehold estate to the value of forty shillings per annum, or forty pounds personal estate in the list, certified by the select men of the town; it is necessary, also, that they take the oath of fidelity to the state. Their names are enrolled in the town clerk's office, and they continue freemen for life, unless disfranchised by sentence of the superior court, on conviction of misdemeanour.

*New England* is the most *populous* part of the United States. It contains, at least, eight hundred and twenty three thousand souls. One fifth of these are sensible men. New England then, should any great and sudden emergency require it, could furnish an army of *one hundred and sixty-four thousand men*. The great body of these are landholders and cultivators of the soil. The former attaches them to their country; the latter, by making them strong and healthy, enables them to defend it. The boys are early taught the use of arms, and make the best of soldiers. Few countries on earth, of equal extent and population, can furnish a more *formidable army* than this part of the union. New England may, with propriety, be called a nursery of men, whence are annually transplanted, into other parts of the United States, thousands of its natives. The state of Vermont, which is but of yesterday; and contains about one hundred thousand souls, has received more inhabitants from Connecticut, than from any other state; and yet between the years 1774 and 1782, notwithstanding her numerous emigrations to Vermont, Susquehannah, and other places, and the depopulation occasioned by seven years bloody war, it is found, from actual census of the inhabitants in the year before mentioned, that they have increased from one hundred and ninety-seven, eight hundred and fifty-six, (their number in 1774), to two hundred and nine thousand one hundred and fifty, their number in 1782. Vast numbers of the New Englanders, since the war, have emigrated into the northern parts of New York, into Kentucky  
and

and the western territory, and into Georgia; and some are scattered into every estate, and every town of note in the union.

The inhabitants of New England are almost universally of English descent, and it is owing to this circumstance, and to the great and general attention that has been paid to education, that the English language has been preserved among them so free of corruption. It is true, that from laziness, inattention, and want of acquaintance with mankind, many of the people in the country have accustomed themselves to use some *peculiar phrases*, and to pronounce certain words in a flat, drawling manner. Hence foreigners pretend they know a New England man from his manner of speaking. But the same may be said with regard to a Pennsylvanian, a Virginian, or a Carolinian; for all have some phrases and modes of pronunciation peculiar to themselves, which distinguish them from their neighbours.

The New Englanders are generally tall, stout, and well built. They glory, and perhaps with justice, in possessing that spirit of freedom, which induced their ancestors to leave their native country, and to brave the dangers of the ocean, and the hardships of settling in a wilderness. Their education, laws, and situation, serve to inspire them with high notions of liberty. Their jealousy is awakened at the first motion toward an invasion of their rights. They are, indeed, often jealous to excess; a circumstance which is a fruitful source of imaginary grievances, and of innumerable groundless suspicions, and unjust complaints against government. But these ebullitions of jealousy, though censurable, and productive of some political evils, shew that the essence of true liberty exists in New England; for *jealousy is the guardian of liberty*, and a characteristic of free republicans. A law respecting the descent of estates that are generally held in fee simple, which for substance is the same in all the New England states, is the chief foundation and protection of this liberty\*. By this law, the possessions of the father are to be equally divided among all the children, excepting the eldest son who has a double portion. In this way is preserved that happy mediocrity among the people, which, by promoting oeconomy and industry, removes, from them temptations to luxury, and forms them to habits of sobriety and temperance. At the same time, their industry and frugality exempt them from want, and from the necessity of submitting to a *encroachment* on their liberties.

New England learning is more generally diffused

Morse.

among all ranks of men than in most other parts of the globe. A person of mature age, who cannot both read and write, is rarely to be found. The people from their childhood form habits of canvassing public affairs, and commence politicians. This naturally leads them to be very inquisitive. It is with knowledge as with riches; the more a man has, the more he wishes to obtain. His desire has no bound. This desire after knowledge, in a greater or less degree, prevails among all classes in New England; and from their various modes of expressing it, some of which are blunt and familiar, bordering on impertinence, ~~strangers~~ have been induced to mention impertinent inquisitiveness as a distinguishing characteristic of New England people. But this is true only with regard to that class who have confined themselves to domestic life, and have not had opportunity of mingling with the world: and such people are not peculiar to New England; they compose a great part of the citizens of every state. This class, it is true, is numerous in New England, where agriculture is the principal employment. But will not a candid and ingenuous mind ascribe this inquisitiveness in these honest and well meaning people to a *laudable*, rather than to a censurable disposition?

Before the late war, which introduced into this country a flood of corruptions with many improvements, the sabbath was observed with great strictness; no unnecessary travelling, no secular business, no visiting, no diversions were permitted on that sacred day. They considered it as consecrated to divine worship, and were generally punctual and serious in their attendance upon it. Their laws were strict in guarding the sabbath against every innovation. Since the war, however, a catholic, tolerant spirit, occasioned by a more enlarged intercourse with mankind, has greatly increased, and is becoming universal; and if they do not break the proper bound, and liberalize away all true religion, of which there is much danger, they will counteract that strong propensity in human nature, which leads men to vibrate from one extreme to its opposite.

"There is one distinguishing characteristic in the religious character of this people," says Mr. Morse, "which we must not omit to mention; and that is, the custom of annually celebrating fasts and thanksgivings. In the spring, the several governors issue their proclamations, appointing a day to be religiously observed in fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout their respective states, in which the predominating vices, that particularly call for humiliation, are enumerated. In autumn after harvest, that glad-some era in the husbandman's life, the governors again issue their

their proclamations, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, enumerating the public blessings received in the course of the foregoing year. This pious custom originated with their venerable ancestors, the first settlers in New England; and has been handed down as sacred, through the successive generations of their posterity. A custom so rational, and so happily calculated to cherish in the minds of the people a sense of their dependence on the *Great Benefactor* of the world for all their blessings, it is hoped will ever be sacredly preserved.

There is a class of people in New-England of the baser sort, who, averse to honest industry, have recourse to knavery for subsistence. Skilled in all the arts of dishonesty, with the assumed face and frankness of integrity, they go about, like wolves in sheep's clothing, with a design to defraud. These people, enterprising from necessity, have not confined their knavish tricks to New England. Other states have felt the effects of their villainy. Hence they have characterised the New Englanders as a knavish, artful, and dishonest people. But that conduct which distinguishes only a small class of people in any nation or state, ought not to be indiscriminately ascribed to all, or be suffered to stamp their national character. In New England there is as great a proportion of honest and industrious citizens as in any of the United States.

“ The people of New England generally obtain their estates by hard and persevering labour; by consequence, they know their value, and spend with frugality. Yet in no country do the indigent and unfortunate fare better. Their laws oblige every town to provide a competent maintenance for their poor, and the necessitous stranger is protected, and relieved from their humane institutions. It may in truth be said, that in no part of the world are the people happier, better furnished with the necessaries and conveniences of life, or more independent than the farmers in New England. As the great body of the people are hardy, independent freeholders, their manners are, as they ought to be, congenial to their employment, plain, simple, and unpolished. Strangers are received and entertained among them with a great deal of artless sincerity, friendly, and unfeigned hospitality. Their children, those imitative creatures, to whose education particular attention is paid, early imbibe the manners and habits of those around them; and the stranger, with pleasure, notices the honest and decent respect that is paid him by the children as he passes through the country.

“ As the people, by representation, make their own laws and appoint their own officers, they cannot be oppressed; and living under governments, which have few lucrative places, they have few motives to bribery, corrupt canvassings, or intrigue. Real abilities and a moral character unblemished, are the qualifications requisite in the view of most people for offices of public trust. The expression of a wish to be promoted, is the direct way to be disappointed.

“ The inhabitants of New England are generally fond of the arts, and have cultivated them with great success. Their colleges have flourished beyond any others in the United States. The illustrious characters they have produced, who have distinguished themselves in politics, law, divinity, the mathematics and philosophy, natural and civil history, and in the fine arts, particularly in poetry, evince the truth of these observations.

“ Many of the women in New England are handsome. They generally have fair, fresh, and healthful countenances, mixed with much female softness and delicacy. These who have had the advantages of a good education, (and they are considerably numerous) are genteel, easy, and agreeable in their manners, and are sprightly and sensible in conversation. They are early taught to manage domestic concerns with neatness and œconomy. Ladies of the first rank and fortune make it a part of their daily business to superintend the affairs of the family. Employment at the needle, in cookery, and at the spinning-wheel, with them is honourable. Idleness, even in those of independent fortunes, is universally disreputable. The women in the country manufacture the greatest part of the clothing of their families. Their linen and woollen cloths are strong and decent. Their butter and cheese are not inferior to any in the world.

“ Dancing is the principal and favourite amusement in New England; and of this the young people of both sexes are extremely fond. Gaming is practised by none but those who cannot, or rather do not, find a reputable employment. The gamester, the horse-jockey, and the knave, are equally despised, and their company is avoided by all who would sustain fair and irreproachable characters. The odious and inhuman practices of duelling, cock-fighting and horse-racing, are scarcely known here. The athletic and healthy diversion of cricket, foot-ball, quoits, wrestling, jumping, hopping, foot-races and prison-base, are universally practised in the country, and some of them in the most populous places, and by people of almost all ranks. Squirrel hunting is a noted diversion in country-places, where this kind of game is plentiful. Some divert themselves

themselves with fox hunting, and others with the more profitable sports of fishing and duck hunting; and in the frontier settlements, where deer and fur game abound, the inhabitants make a lucrative sport of hunting them. In the winter season, while the ground is covered with snow, which is commonly two or three months, sledging is the general diversion. A great part of the families are furnished with horses and sledges. The young people collect in parties, and, with a great deal of sociability, resort to a place of rendezvous, where they regale themselves for a few hours with dancing and a social supper, and then retire. Their diversions, as well as all others, are many times carried to excess. To these excesses, and a sudden exposure to extreme cold after the exercise of dancing, physicians have ascribed the consumptions, which are so frequent among the young people in New England."

With regard to *trade*, the ocean and the forest afford the two principal articles of export. Cod-fish, mackarel, shad, salmon, and other fish—whale-oil and whale-bone—masts, boards, scantling, staves, hoops, and shingles, have been and are still exported in large quantities. The annual amount of cod and other fish, for foreign exportation, including the profits arising from the whale fishery, is estimated at upwards of half a million. Besides the articles enumerated, they export from the various parts of New England ships built for sale, horses, mules, live stock, pickled beef and pork, pot-ash, pearl-ash, flax-seed, butter and cheese.

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of New England and New Jersey, a pious and successful missionary \*, who was well acquainted with it, informs us, that after the coming of the white people, the Indians who once held a plurality of deities, supposed there were only three, because they saw people of three kinds of complexions, viz. English, negroes, and themselves. It is a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that the same God, who made us, did not make them; but that they were created after the white people: and it is probable they supposed their God gained some special skill, by seeing the white people made, and so made them better: for it is certain they look upon themselves and their method of living, which they say their God expressly prescribed for them, as vastly preferable to the white people and their methods. With regard to a future state of existence, many of them imagine that the *chichung*, that is the shadow, or what survives the body, will, at death, go southward, and in an unknown, but curious place, will enjoy some kind of happiness, such

Mr. Brainard.



as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they suppose will contribute much to their happiness in the next state is, that they shall never be weary of those entertainments. Those who have any notion about rewards and punishments in a future state, seem to imagine that most will be happy, and that those that are not so, will be punished only with *privation*, being only excluded from the walls of the good world where happy spirits reside. These rewards and punishments, they suppose to depend entirely upon their behaviour towards mankind; and have no reference to any thing which relates to the worship of the Supreme Being.

Besides the creator of the world, there is another power; which they call Hobbamoeko, in English, the Devil, of whom they stand in great awe, and worship merely from a principle of fear.

The first *duel* in New England, was fought with sword and dagger between two servants. Neither of them were killed, but both were wounded. For this disgraceful offence, they were formally tried before the whole company, and sentenced to have their heads and feet tied together, and so to be twenty-four hours without meat or drink! Such, however, was the painfulness of their situation, and their piteous entreaties to be released, that, upon promise of better behaviour in future, they were soon released by the governor. Such was the origin, and such, I may almost venture to add, was the termination of the odious practice of duelling in New England, for there have been very few duels fought there since. The true method of preventing crimes is to render them disgraceful. Upon this principle, can there be invented a punishment better calculated to exterminate this criminal practice than the one already mentioned \*?

Mors.

## C H A P. III.

*Of New York and New Jersey.*

**N**EW YORK, which is contiguous to New England, being bounded on the east by this principal settlement, and on the west by New Jersey, occupies, at first, a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea shore, and, insensibly enlarging, extends to the north above an hundred and fifty miles. This country was discovered by Henry Hudson, that celebrated navigator, who, A. D. 1609. after having made vain attempts, under the patronage of the Dutch East India company, to discover a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery, that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after reconnoitring the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam, from whence he sailed.

According to the European system, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It was discovered by a man in their service, who took possession of it in their name, and gave up to them any personal right he might have in it. His being an Englishman did not, in the least, invalidate these incontrovertible titles. It must therefore have occasioned great surprise, when James the First asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent some persons to lay the foundation A. D. 1610. of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here; and this fortunate beginning seemed to promise great success, when the country was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and successes of Louis the Fourteenth have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was already extending its flourishing trade to all parts of the world.

world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and œconomy, superseded them in all the considerable markets of the universe. Every effort she made to come in competition, turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, while all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants, and resolved that what they could not obtain by industry should be secured to them by force. Charles the Second, notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him the prospect of acquiring the riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions, and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of August, with three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea, as well as every hope, of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the English by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set these two maritime powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since, under the name of New York.

It took its name from the duke of York, to whom it was given by the king. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles, which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, instituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was

was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government \*..

By the constitution of the state of New York, lately established, the supreme legislative power was vested in two separate and distinct bodies of men; the one to be called, "*The Assembly of the States of New York*," to consist of seventy members annually chosen by ballot; and the other, "*The Senate of the State of New York*," to consist of twenty-four for four years, who together are to form the legislature, and to meet once at least, in every year, for the dispatch of business. The supreme executive power is to be vested in a governor, who is to continue in office three years, assisted by four counsellors chosen by and from the senate. Every male inhabitant of full age, who shall possess a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, or have rented a tenement of the yearly value of forty shillings, and shall have paid taxes to the estate for six months preceding the day of election, is entitled to vote for members of the assembly; but those who vote for the governor, and the members of the senate, are to be possessed of freeholds of the value of one hundred pounds. The delegates to the congress, the judges, &c. are to be chosen by ballot of the senate and assembly.

The city of New York is inhabited principally by merchants, mechanics, shop-keepers, and tradesmen, composed of almost all nations and religions. They are generally respectable in their several professions, and sustain the reputation of honest, punctual, fair dealers. The manners and character of the inhabitants of every colony or state, will take their colouring in a greater or less degree, from the peculiar manners of the first settlers. It is much more natural for emigrants to a settlement to adopt the customs of the original inhabitants, than the contrary, even though the emigrants should, in a length of time, become the most numerous. Hence it is that the neatness, parsimony, and industry of the Dutch were early imitated by the first English settlers in the province, and, until the revolution, formed a distinguishing trait in their provincial character. It is still discernible, though in a much less degree, and will probably continue visible many years to come.

New York is the gayest place in America. The ladies, and the richness and brilliancy of their dress are not equalled in any city in the United States; not even in Charleston, South Carolina, which has heretofore been called the centre of the *Beau Monde*. The ladies, however, are not solely

employed in attentions to dress. There are many who are studious to add to their brilliant external accomplishments, the more brilliant and lasting accomplishments of the mind. Nor have they been unsuccessful; for New York can boast of great numbers of refined taste, whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms. Tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with good œconomy and singular neatness.

The situation of New York, with respect to foreign markets, has decidedly the preference to any of the states. It has, at all seasons of the year, a short and easy access to the ocean. "In our traffic with other places," says a native of this state, "the balance is almost constantly in our favour\*." Their exports to the West Indies are biscuit, peas, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, staves, horses, sheep, butter, cheese, pickled oysters, beef and pork. But wheat is the staple commodity of the state, of which no less than 677,700 bushels were exported, be-  
A. D. 1775. sides 2,555 tons of bread, and 2,828 tons of flour. West India goods are received in return for these articles.

The ministers of religion of every denomination in the state, are supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, raised generally by subscription, or by a tax upon the pews, except the Dutch churches in New York, Albany and Kingston, which have large estates confirmed by charter.

*New Jersey* is bounded on the east by New York, on the west by Pennsylvania, on the north by Hudson's river, and on the south east by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of 120 miles. The Swedes  
A. D. 1639. were the first Europeans who settled in this region. Neglected by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance, they were obliged, at the end of sixteen years, to surrender to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he separated them, and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites. Sir George Carteret and lord Berkeley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculative persons, accordingly, bought large districts

\* Smith's History of New York.

of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one.

By the new charter of rights established by the provincial congress, the government of A. D. 1776. New Jersey is now vested in a governor, legislative council, and general assembly. The members of the legislative council are to be freeholders, and worth at least one thousand pounds real and personal estate; and the members of the general assembly to be worth five hundred pounds. All inhabitants worth fifty pounds are entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly, and for all other public officers. The elections of the governor, legislative council, and general assembly, are to be annual; the governor and lieutenant-governor to be chosen *en am* and by the general assembly and council. The judges of the supreme court are chosen for even years, and the officers of the executive power for five years.

This state has all the varieties of soil from the worst to the best kind. It also embosoms vast quantities of iron and copper ore. The iron ore is of two kinds; one is capable of being manufactured into malleable iron, and is found in mountains and low barren grounds; the other, called *bog-ore*, grows \* in rich bottoms, and yields iron of a hard brittle quality, and is commonly manufactured into hollow ware, and used sometimes instead of stone in building.

Many circumstances concur to render the *manners* of the people of this country various. The inhabitants are a collection of Low Dutch, Germans, English, Scotch, Irish, and New Englanders, or their descendants. National attachment and mutual convenience have generally induced these several kinds of people to settle together in a body; and, in this way, their peculiar national manners, customs and character, are still preserved, especially among the lower class of the people, who have little intercourse with any but those of their own nation. Religion, although its tendency may be to unite people in those things that are essential to happiness, occasions wide differences as to manners, cus-

\* Some perhaps may be surprised to hear that ore grows; but that it does in fact grow is well known to many curious naturalists, who have carefully observed it.

toins, and even character. The presbyterian, the quaker, the episcopalian, the baptist, the German and Low Dutch calvinist, the methodist and Moravian, have each their distinguishing characteristics, either in their worship, their discipline, or their dress.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Of Pennsylvania and the Progress of Population, Agriculture, and Manners in that State.*

THE humane and peaceable sect of the *friends* or *quakers*, arose in England amidst the confusions of that bloody war which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets. He then began to think of making proselytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose opinions upon incomprehensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous. The first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver laces, no embroidery, ruffles, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not wear even a button in the hat, nor a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty. All outward marks of deference, which the

pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of excellence or eminence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of respect to a man's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried this idea so far, that even the magistrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number. The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one assailed him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work; or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate, and in support of a just cause, they deemed to be profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings. The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the ostentatious edifices of priestcraft, they considered the sabbath as a pernicious and idle institution, and baptism, and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy; sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently



frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies. The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, were none of their thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and dissuade his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confessed that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Among the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on this sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which, though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the A. D. 1681. year, he set sail for his new possessions, which, from that time, took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid

avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thousand.

His arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territories, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himself as much as possible a legal possessor of the territory, and by the use he made of it, supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying ever thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawns of reason, happiness, and humanity rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people civilized as well as savage. This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any

any person to attend them. Desirous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace? Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn.

He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay twenty shillings for them. Every one who could not obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of about one penny per acre. To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, to make those who are in possession of them purchase the degree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property, in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any dispute that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind,

mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body. Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn, were manifested in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eye of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

Had William Penn been a native of Greece, he would have had his statue placed next to those of Solon and Lycurgus. His laws, founded on the solid bases of equity, still maintain their force; and as a proof of their effects, it is only necessary to mention that land was lately granted at twelve pounds an hundred acres; whereas the terms on which it was formerly granted, were at twenty pounds the thousand acres, with one shilling quit rent for every hundred. Near Philadelphia, before the commencement of the war with the mother-country, land rented at twenty shillings the acre, and even at several miles distance from that city, sold at twenty years purchase.

Philadelphia is the capital, not only of this province, but of the United States. It is situated on the west bank of the river Delaware, on an extensive plain, about 118 miles from the sea. The length of the city, from east to west, that is from the Delaware to Schuylkill, upon the original plan of Mr. Penn, is 10,300 feet, and the breadth from north to south, is 4,837 feet. Not two fifths of the plot covered by the city charter is yet built. The inhabitants, however, have not confined themselves within the original limits of the city, but have built north and south along the Delaware, two miles in length. The longest street is Second-street, about 700 feet from Delaware river, and parallel to it. The circumference of that part of the city, which is built, if we include Kensington on the north, and Southwark on the south, may be about five miles. Market-street is 100 feet wide, and runs the whole length of the city, from river to river. Near the middle, it is intersected at right angles by Broad-street, across the city; and between Broad-street and the Schuylkill there are nine streets equidistant from each other. Parallel to Market-street are eight

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other streets, running east and west from river to river, and intersecting the cross streets at right angles; all these streets are 50 feet wide, except Arch-street, which is 65 feet wide. All the streets which run north and south, except Broad-street, mentioned above, are 50 feet wide. There were four squares of eight acres each, one at each corner of the city, originally reserved for public and common uses. And, in the center of the city, where Broad-street and Market-street intersect each other, there is a square of ten acres, reserved in like manner to be planted with rows of trees for public walks. The first street between Delaware river and the bank, is called Water-street. The next, on the top of the bank, is called Front-street; and west of this the streets are numbered, second, third, fourth, &c. On the river Delaware, there are sixteen public landings, at the distance of four or five hundred feet from each other; and private wharfs sufficient for 200 sail of sea vessels to unload at a time, as well as room to build any necessary number. This fine city was A. D. 1682. founded by the celebrated William Penn, who granted a charter, incorporating the town with privilege of choosing a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, twelve common-council men, a sheriff and clerk.

It was in Philadelphia that the general congress of America met in September 1774; and their meetings continued to be chiefly held there, till the king's troops made themselves masters of that city, on the 26th of September 1777. But in June 1778, the British troops retreated to New York, and Philadelphia again became the residence of the congress. In 1776, the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania met in a general convention at Philadelphia, and agreed upon the plan of a new constitution or government for that colony. They determined that the commonwealth, or state of Pennsylvania, should be governed hereafter by an assembly of the representatives of the freemen, and a president and council. That the supreme legislative power should be vested in the house of representatives. That the supreme executive power should be vested in the president and council of twelve. That every freeman of twenty-one years of age, having resided in Pennsylvania one year before the day of election for representatives, and paid public taxes during that time, should enjoy the right of an elector; and that the sons of freeholders, of twenty-one years of age, should be entitled to vote, although they had not paid taxes. That the house of representatives should consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the freemen of every city and county of this

## *Philadelphia.*

commonwealth respectively; that no person should be elected, unless he had resided in the city or county from which he should be chosen two years before the election and that no member, while he continued such, should hold any other office except in the militia. That no person should be capable of being elected a member to serve in the house of representatives more than four years in several years. That the members should be chosen annually by ballot, and should be styled, "The general Assembly of the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania;" and should have power to choose their speaker, the treasurer of the state, and their other officers, to prepare bills, and to enact them into laws, to redress grievances, impeach state criminals and have all other powers necessary for the legislature of a free state and commonwealth. That delegates to represent Pennsylvania in congress should be annually chosen by ballot, in the general assembly of representatives. That the supreme executive council of this state should consist of twelve persons to be chosen by the freemen of Philadelphia, and the several counties of Pennsylvania. That a president and vice-president of this council, should be chosen annually. That the president, and, in his absence, the vice-president, with the council, five of whom are to be a quorum, should have power to appoint judges, naval officers, judge of the admiralty, attorney-general, and other officers civil and military. That the president shall be commander in chief of the forces of the state, but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the council, and then only so long as the council shall approve. That all trials shall be by jury; and that freedom of speech, and of the press, shall not be restrained. That all persons in public offices should declare their belief in one God, the Creator, and Governor of the Universe; the rewarder of the good, and the punisher of wicked; and also acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration. A variety of other particulars were contained in this plan of government, particularly that the freemen and their sons should be trained and armed for the public defence, under such regulations, restrictions, and exceptions, as the general Assembly should by law direct, preserving always to the people the right of choosing their colonel, and all commissioned officers under that rank, in such manner, and as often as by the said laws should be directed. Two persons also are to be chosen by ballot every year for each county and city, by the freemen, to be called "The Council of Censors," who are to examine into the conduct of the legislative and executive branches.

The inhabitants of Pennsylvania consist of emigrants from England, Ireland, Germany and Scotland. The friends and episcopalians are chiefly of English extraction, and compose about one-third of the inhabitants. Industry, frugality, bordering in some instances on parsimony, enterprize, a taste and ability for improvements in mechanics, in manufactures, in agriculture, in commerce, and in the liberal sciences; temperance, plainness and simplicity in dress and manners; pride and humility in their extremes; inoffensiveness and intrigue; in regard to religion, variety and harmony; liberality and its opposites, superstition and bigotry; and in politics an unhappy jargon:—Such are the distinguishing traits in the Pennsylvanian character.

The remarks of a sensible writer on the progress of population, agriculture, manners and government of Pennsylvania, here deserve our attention. “The first settler in the woods is generally a man who has out-lived his credit or fortune in the cultivated parts of the state. His time for migrating is in the month of April. His first object is to build a small cabin of rough logs for himself and family. The floor of this cabin is of earth, the roof is of split logs; the light is received through the door, and, in some instances, through a small window made of greased paper. A coarser building adjoining this cabin afford a shelter to a cow, and a pair of poor horses. The labour of erecting these buildings is succeeded by felling the trees on a few acres of ground near his cabin; this is done by cutting a circle round the trees, two or three feet from the ground. The ground around these trees is then ploughed, and Indian corn planted in it. The season for planting this grain is about the 20th of May. It grows generally on new ground, with but little cultivation, and yields, in the month of October following, from 40 to 50 bushels per acre. After the first of September it affords a good deal of nourishment to his family, in its green or unripe state, in the form of what is called *roasting ears*. His family is fed, during the summer, by a small quantity of grain, which he carries with him, and by fish and game. His cows and horses feed upon wild grass, or the succulent twigs of the woods. For the first year he endures a great deal of distress from hunger, cold, and a variety of accidental causes, but he seldom complains or sinks under them. As he lives in the neighbourhood of the Indians, he soon acquires a strong tincture of their manners. His exertions, while they continue, are violent; but they are succeeded by long intervals of rest. His pleasures consist chiefly in fishing and hunting. He loves spirituous liquors, and he eats,  
drinks

drinks and sleeps in dirt and rags in his little cabin. In his intercourse with the world he manifests all the arts which characterize the Indians of America. In this situation he passes two or three years. In proportion as population increases around him, he becomes uneasy and dissatisfied. Formerly his cattle ranged at large, but now his neighbours call upon him to confine them within the fences, to prevent their trespassing upon their fields of grain. Formerly he fed his family with wild animals, but these, which fly from the face of man, now cease to afford him an easy subsistence, and he is compelled to raise domestic animals for the support of his family. Above all, he revolts against the operation of laws. He cannot bear to surrender up a single natural right for all the benefits of government; and therefore he abandons his little settlement, and seeks a retreat in the woods, where he again submits to all the toils which have been mentioned. There are instances of many men who have broken ground on bare creation, not less than four different times in this way, in different and more advanced parts of the state. It has been remarked that the flight of this class of people is always increased by the preaching of the gospel. This will not surprise us, when we consider how opposite its precepts are to their licentious manner of living. If the first settler was the owner of the spot of land which he began to cultivate, he sells it at a considerable profit to his successor; but if (as is oftener the case) he was a tenant to some such landholder, he abandons it in debt; however, the small improvements he leaves behind him, generally make it an object of immediate demand to a *second* species of settler.

This species of settler is generally a man of some property; he pays one third or one fourth part in cash for his plantation, which consists of three or four hundred acres, and the rest by instalments. The first object of this settler is to build an addition to his cabin. This is done with hewed logs; and as saw-mills generally follow settlements, his are made of boards. This house is divided by two floors, on each of which are two rooms; under the whole is a cellar walled with stone. The cabin serves as a kitchen to this house. His next object is to clear a little meadow-ground, and plant an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. His stable is likewise enlarged, and, in the course of a year or two, he builds a large log barn, the roof of which is commonly thatched with rye straw: he moreover, increases the quantity of his arable land, and, instead of cultivating Indian corn alone, he raises also



wheat and rye : the latter is cultivated chiefly for the purpose of being distilled into *whiskey*.

The *third* species of settler is commonly a man of property and good character; sometimes he is the son of a wealthy farmer, in one of the interior and ancient countries of the state. His first object is to convert every spot of ground, over which he is able to draw water, into meadow; and where this cannot be done, he selects the most fertile spots on the farm, and devotes them, by manure, to that purpose. His fences are every where repaired, so as to secure his grain from his own and his neighbour's cattle. He increases the number of the articles of his cultivation, and instead of raising corn, wheat, and rye alone, he raises oats, buck-wheat\*, and spelts. Near his house, he allots an acre or two of ground for a garden, on which he raises a large quantity of cabbage and potatoes. His newly cleared fields afford him every year a large increase of turnips. Over the spring which supplies him with water, he builds a milk house. He likewise adds to the number and improves the quality of his fruit trees. His sons work by his side all the year, and his wife and daughters forsake the dairy and the spinning wheel, to share with him in the toils of harvest. The last object of his industry is to build a dwelling-house; which is generally of stone. It is large, convenient, and filled with useful and substantial furniture. The horses and cattle of this species of settler, bear marks in their strength, fat, and fruitfulness, of their being plentifully fed and carefully kept. His table abounds with a variety of the best provisions; his very kitchen flows with milk and honey; beer, cyder, and wine, are the usual drinks of his family. The greatest part of the clothing of his family is manufactured by his wife and daughters. In proportion as he increases in wealth, he values the protection of laws: hence he punctually pays his taxes towards the support of government. Schools and churches likewise, as the means of promoting order and happiness in society, derive a due support from him: for benevolence and public spirit, as to these objects, are the natural offspring of affluence and independence. Of this class of settlers are two thirds of the farmers of Pennsylvania: these are the men to whom Pennsylvania owes her ancient fame and consequence. If they possess less refinement than their southern neighbours, who cultivate their lands with slaves, they possess more republican virtue. It was from the farms cul-

\* The *Fagopyrum* of Linnæus.

tivated by these men, that the American and French armies were fed chiefly with bread during the late revolution, and it was from the produce of these farms, that those millions of dollars were obtained from the Havanna after the year 1780, which laid the foundation of the bank of North America, and which fed and clothed the American army, till the peace of Paris.

From a review of the three different species of settlers, it appears, that there are certain regular stages which mark the progress from savage to civilized life. The first settler is nearly related to an Indian in his manners. In the second, the Indian manners are more diluted. It is in the third species of settlers only, that we behold civilization completed. It is to the third species of settlers only, that it is proper to apply the term of *farmers*.

The unoccupied lands are sold by the state for about six guineas, inclusive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as most of the lands that are settled, are procured from persons who had purchased them from the state, they are sold to the first settler for a much higher price. The quality of the soil, its vicinity to mills, court-houses, places of worship, and navigable water; the distance of land carriage to the sea-ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the first settler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumstances, influence the price of farms to the second and third settlers. Hence the price of land to the first settler is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre; and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the second and third settlers, according as the land is varied by the before mentioned circumstances. When the first settler is unable to purchase, he often takes a tract of land for seven years on a lease, and contracts, instead of paying a rent in cash, to clear fifty acres of land, to build a log cabin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this lease, sells or rents for a considerable profit.

In the mode of extending population and agriculture, above described, we behold a new species of war. The third settler may be viewed as a conqueror. The weapons with which he achieves his conquests, are the implements of husbandry; and the virtues which direct them, are industry and economy. Idleness, extravagance and ignorance, fly before him. Happy would it be for mankind, if the kings of Europe would adopt this mode of extending their territories: it would soon put an end to the dreadful connection,

which has existed in every age, between war and poverty, between conquest and desolation\*.”

Of the great variety of religious denominations in Pennsylvania, the *quakers* are the most numerous. ~~The true appellation of these people is~~ *friends*: that of quakers was early and unjustly given them by way of contempt. During the late war, some of their number, contrary to that article of their faith, which *forbids them to fight in any case whatever*, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a secession from their brethren, and they now form a separate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the “resisting or fighting quakers.” Next to the quakers, the Presbyterians are the most numerous.

The protestant *episcopal church* of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, A. D. 1785. Virginia and South-Carolina, met in convention at Philadelphia, and revised the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and published and proposed the book, thus revised, for the use of the church. This revision was made in part, in order to render the liturgy consistent with the American revolution, and the constitutions of the several states. In this they have discovered their liberality and their patriotism. In Pennsylvania and the southern states, this revised book is pretty generally used by the episcopal churches. In New York and New Jersey it has not been adopted.

There are upwards of sixty ministers of the Lutheran and Calvinist religion, who are of German extraction, now in this state; all of whom have one or more congregations under their care; and many of them preach in splendid and extensive churches: and yet the first Lutheran minister, who arrived in Pennsylvania about forty years ago, was alive in 1787, as was also the second Calvinistical minister. The Lutherans do not differ, in any thing essential, from the episcopalians; nor do the Calvinists from the Presbyterians.

The *Moravians* are of German extraction. They call themselves the *United Brethren of the protestant episcopal church*. They are called Moravians, because the first settlers in the English dominions were chiefly emigrants. These were the remnant and genuine descendants of the church of the ancient United Brethren, established in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the last century, they left their native country, to avoid perse-

\* Letter from a citizen of Philadelphia to his friend in England.

cution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers. They were received in Saxony, and other protestant dominions, and were encouraged to settle among them, and were joined by many serious people of other denominations. They adhere to the Augustine confession of faith, which was drawn up by the protestant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and presented at the diet of the empire at Augsburg; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal system of all the established protestant churches. They retain the discipline of their ancient church, and make use of episcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of succession for more than three hundred years\*.

Pennsylvania has given birth to many *useful inventions*. Among others are the following: A new model of the planetary world, by Mr. Rittenhouse, commonly called an orrery; a quadrant, by Mr. Godfrey, called by the plagiarist name of Hadley's quadrant; a steam boat, so constructed, as that by the assistance of steam, operating on certain machinery within the boat, it moves with considerable rapidity against the stream, without the aid of hands. Messrs. Fitch and Ramsay contend with each other for the honour of this invention.—A new printing press, lately invented and constructed in Philadelphia, worked by one person alone, who performs three fourths as much work in a day, as two persons at a common press. Besides these there have been invented many manufacturing machines, for carding, spinning, winnowing, &c. which perform an immense deal of work with very little manual assistance†.

There are three *remarkable grottos* or caves in this state; one near Carlisle, in Cumberland county; one in the township of Durham, in Bucks county; and the other at Swetara, in Lancaster county. Of the two former there are no particular descriptions. The latter is on the east bank of Swetara river, about two miles above its confluence with the Susquehannah. Its entrance is spacious, and descends so much as that the surface of the river is rather higher than the bottom of the cave. The vault of this cave is of solid lime stone rock, perhaps twenty feet thick. It contains several apartments, some of which are very high and spacious. The water is incessantly percolating through the roof, and falls in drops to the bottom of the cave. These drops petrify as they fall, and have gradually formed solid pillars which

\* Crantz's History of the United Brethren's Church.

† Morse.

appear as supports to the roof. Thirty years ago there were ten such pillars, each six inches in diameter, and six feet high; all so ranged that the place they enclosed resembled a sanctuary in a Roman church. ~~No royal throne~~ ever exhibited more grandeur than this *lusus naturæ*. The resemblances of several monuments are found indented in the walls on the sides of the cave, which appear like the tombs of departed heroes. Suspended from the roof is "the bell," (which is nothing more than a stone projected in an unusual form) so called from the sound that it occasions when struck, which is similar to that of a bell. Some of the stalactites are of a colour like sugar-candy, and others resemble loaf sugar; but their beauty is much defaced by the country people. The water, which percolates through the roof, so much of it as is not petrified in its course, runs down the declivity, and is both pleasant and wholesome to drink. There are several holes in the bottom of the cave, descending perpendicularly, perhaps into an abyss below, which render it dangerous to walk without a light. At the end of the cave is a pretty brook, which, after a short course, loses itself among the rocks. Beyond this brook is an outlet from the cave by a very narrow aperture. Through this the vapours continually pass outwards with a strong current of air, and ascend, resembling, at night, the smoke of a furnace. Part of these vapours and fogs appear, on ascending, to be condensed at the head of this great alembic, and the more volatile parts to be carried off, through the aperture communicating with the exterior air before mentioned, by the force of the air in its passage.

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## C H A P. V.

### *Of Virginia and Maryland.*

**T**HIS is the first country which the English planted in America. We derived our right, not only to this, but to all our other settlements, from the discovery of Sebastian Cabot, who, in 1497, first made the northern continent of America, in the service of Henry VII. of England. No attempts, however, were made to settle it till the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was then sir Walter Raleigh, a man

of the most enterprising genius of any in that age, applied to court, and got together a company which was composed of several persons of distinction, and several eminent merchants; who agreed to open a trade, and settle a colony in that part of the world, which, in honor of queen Elizabeth, he called Virginia. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, several attempts were made for settling this colony, before any proved successful. The three first companies who sailed into Virginia, perished through hunger and diseases, or were cut off by the Indians. The fourth was reduced almost to the same situation; and being dwindled to a feeble remainder, had set sail for England, in despair of living in such an uncultivated country, inhabited by such hostile and warlike savages. But in the mouth of Chesapeake bay they were met with lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and with every thing necessary for their relief and defence. At his persuasion they returned: by his advice, his prudence, and winning behaviour, the internal government of the colony was settled, and its defence provided for. This nobleman, who had accepted the government from the noblest motives was compelled, by the decayed state of his health, to return into England. He left behind him, however, his son as deputy; with sir Thomas Gates, sir George Summers, the honourable George Piercy, and Mr. Newport for his council. By them James-Town, the first town built by the English in the New World, was erected.

The colony continued to flourish, and the true sources of its wealth began to be discovered and improved. The first settlers, like those of Maryland, were generally persons of consideration and distinction. It remained a steady ally to the royal party, during the troubles of great Britain. Many of the cavaliers, in danger at home, took refuge here; and under the government of sir William Berkley, held out for the crown, until the parliament, rather by stratagem than force, reduced them. After the restoration there is nothing very interesting in the history of this province. Soon after this time, a young gentleman, named Bacon, a lawyer, availed himself of some discontents in the colony, on account of restraints in trade, became very popular, and put every thing in confusion. His natural death, however, restored peace and unanimity; and the inhabitants of Virginia ceased to destroy themselves,

The government of this province was not at first adapted to the principles of the English constitution, and to the enjoyment of that liberty to which a subject of Great Britain thinks himself entitled in every part of the globe. It was

was governed by a governor and council, appointed by the king of Great Britain. As the inhabitants increased, the inconveniency of this form became more grievous; and a new branch was added to the constitution, by which the people, who had formerly no influence, were allowed to elect their representatives from each county, into which this country is divided, with privileges resembling those of the representatives of the commons of England. Thus two houses, the upper and lower house of assembly, were formed. The upper house, which was before called the council, remained on its former footing; its members were appointed, during pleasure, by the crown; they were styled Honourable, and answered, in some measure, to the house of peers in the British constitution. The lower house was the guardian of the people's liberty. And thus, with a governor representing the king, an upper and lower house of assembly, this government bore a striking resemblance to our own. When any bill had passed the two houses, it came before the governor, who gave his assent or negative as he thought proper. It now acquired the force of a law, until it was transmitted to England, and his majesty's pleasure known on that subject. The upper house of assembly acted not only as a part of the legislature, but also as a privy-council to the governor, without whose concurrence he could do nothing of moment; it sometimes acted as a court of Chancery. The present government of this province, as settled in convention at Williamf-

A.D. 1776. burg, is, that the legislature, executive and judiciary departments be separate and distinct; and that the house of delegates be chosen annually by the freeholders.

In this country, one may travel an hundred miles without meeting with a hill. In summer the heats are excessive, though not without refreshing breezes from the sea. The weather is changeable, and the change is sudden and violent. To a warm day there sometimes succeeds such an intense cold in the evening, as to freeze over the largest rivers. Towards the sea shore and the banks of the rivers, the soil of Virginia consists of a dark rich mould, which, without manure, returns plentifully whatever is committed to it. The variety and perfection of the vegetable productions are astonishing. The forests are covered with all sorts of lofty trees; and no underwood or bushes grow beneath; so that the people travel with ease on horseback, under a fine shade to defend them from the sun; the plains are enamelled with flowers and flowering shrubs of the richest colours and most fragrant scent. Silk grows spontaneous

taneously in many places, the fibres of which are strong as hemp. Medicinal herbs and roots, particularly the snake-root and the ginseng of the Chinese, are here in great plenty. There is no sort of grain but might be cultivated to advantage. The inhabitants, however, are so engrossed with the culture of the tobacco-plant, which is here of a superior quality to what any other country affords, that they think, if corn, sufficient for their support, can be raised, they do enough in this way.

Tobacco is a sharp caustic, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every one is acquainted with the general consumption of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered by the Spaniards, who found it first A.D. 1520. in the Yucatan, a large peninsula in the gulf of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees, fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption, in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America. The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscous; its leaves are dark, fleshy, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a breeding soil, but rich, even, and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of moisture. The seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is generally pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours. The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be picked off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. One industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred



hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; ~~the leaves~~ are also curved, the scent of them grows stronger, and extends to a great distance. The plant is then ripe and must be cut. The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. They are left separately suspended for such a time as is necessary to dry them properly. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation. Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Virginia and Maryland. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every plantation throughout Maryland. But, in process of time, the use of this herb became so general that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who were employed in preparing it. At present each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That of Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates on account of its cheapness, and even its coarseness, which makes it adapted to less delicate organs.

Virginia has produced some men of great abilities, who were very active in effecting the late important revolution in America. Her political and military character will rank among the first in the page of history. But it is to be observed that this character has been obtained for the Virginians by a few eminent men, who have taken the lead in all their public transactions, and who, in short, govern Virginia; for the great body of the people do not concern themselves with politics; so that their government, though nominally republican, is, in fact, oligarchal or aristocratical. The climate and external appearance of the country,

says

says a sensible traveller \*, conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good-natured; extremely fond of society, and much given to convivial pleasures, in consequence of this they seldom show any spirit of enterprize, or expose themselves willingly to fatigue. Their authority over their slaves renders them vain and imperious, and entire strangers to that elegance of sentiment, which is so peculiarly characteristic of refined and polished nations. Their ignorance of mankind and of learning, exposed them to many errors and prejudices, especially in regard to Indians and negroes, whom they scarcely consider as of the human species; so that it is almost impossible, in cases of violence, or even murder, committed upon those unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to justice; for either the grand jury refuse to find the bill, or the petit-jury bring in their verdict, not guilty. The young men, generally speaking, are gamblers, cock-fighters, and horse-jockies. To hear them converse, you would imagine that the grand point of all science was properly to fix a gaff, and touch, with dexterity, the tail of a cock, while in combat. He who won the last match, the last game, or the last horse-race, assumes the airs of a hero or German potentate. The ingenuity of a Locke, or the discoveries of a Newton, are considered as infinitely inferior to the accomplishments of him who knows when to shoulder a blind cock, or start a fleet horse. A spirit for literary inquiries, if not altogether confined to a few, is, among the body of the people, evidently subordinate to a spirit of gaming and barbarous sports. At almost every tavern or ordinary on the public road, there is a billiard table, a back-gammon table, cards, and other implements for various games. To these public houses, the gambling gentry in the neighbourhood resort to *kill time*, which hangs heavily upon them; and at this business they are extremely expert, having been accustomed to it from their earliest youth. The passion for cock-fighting, a diversion not only inhumanly barbarous, but infinitely beneath the dignity of a man of sense, is so predominant, that they even advertise their matches in the public newspapers. This dissipation of manners is the fruit of indolence and luxury, which are the fruit of the African slavery.

Though an entire toleration was allowed to all religions in this country, there were, before the commencement of the civil war, few dissenters from the church of England. The bishop of London used to send over a superintend-

\* Burnaby.

ant to inspect the characters of clergymen who lived comfortably here (a priest to each parish) with about 100*l.* per annum paid in tobacco. Here is also a college founded by king William, called William and Mary college, who gave 200*l.* towards it, and 20,000 acres of land, with power to purchase and hold lands to the value of 2000*l.* a year, and a duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported to the other plantations. There is a president, six professors, and other officers, who are named by the governors or visitors. The honourable Mr. Boyle made a very large donation to the college for the education of Indian children. The presbyterian denomination of Christians is the most numerous in this province, for though the first settlers were Episcopalians, yet, through the indolence of the clergy, two-thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the late revolution.

It seems as if all the provinces of North America were planted from motives of religion. *Maryland*, like those we have formerly described, owes its settlement to religious considerations. When the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak and unfortunate prince, Charles the First, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive system of faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new system for that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son.

A.D. 1633. This young nobleman left England with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion, for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent council of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness

pines they enjoyed invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country. These wise precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts, yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the Second, and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been not to distinguish his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think, that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing, a second time, to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne, which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they also recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

The government of this country exactly resembled that in Virginia, except that the governor was appointed by the proprietor, and only confirmed by the crown. The customs too were reserved to the crown, and the officers belonging to them were independent of the government of the province. At length, as the protestants became far more numerous, they excluded the papists from all offices of trust and power, and even adopted the penal laws of England against them. The church of England was by law established here, and the clergy were paid in tobacco: a tax for this purpose was annually levied, and every male white

person above the age of sixteen was obliged to 'pay forty pounds of tobacco; or if he raised no tobacco, he must take an oath that he did not, and pay the value in cash; dissenting clergymen were not exempted. But since the civil war, by the declaration of rights and the constitution A. D. 1776. agreed to in the convention of delegates at Annapolis, the legislature is now to consist of two distinct branches, the senate and the house of delegates; the latter to be annually chosen, *viva voce*, by the freeholders in each county. All persons appointed to any office of profit or trust, are to subscribe a declaration of their belief in the Christian religion.

The inhabitants of Maryland, except in populous towns, live on their plantations, often several miles distant from each other. To an inhabitant of the middle, and especially of the eastern states, which are very populous, they appear to live very retired and unsocial lives. The effects of this comparative solitude are visible in the countenances, as well as in the manners and dress of the country people. You observe very little of that cheerful sprightliness of look and action which is the invariable and genuine offspring of social intercourse. Nor do you find that attention paid to dress, which is common, and which decency and propriety have rendered necessary, among people who are liable to receive company almost every day. Unaccustomed, in a great measure, to these frequent and friendly visits, they often suffer a negligence in their dress which borders on slovenliness. There is apparently a disconsolate wildness in their countenances, and an indolence and inactivity in their whole behaviour, which are evidently the effects of solitude and slavery. As the negroes perform all the manual labour, their masters are left to saunter away life in sloth, and too often in ignorance. These observations, however, must in justice be limited to the people in the country, and to those particularly, whose poverty or parsimony prevents their spending a part of their time in populous towns, or otherwise mingling with the world. And with these limitations they will equally apply to all the southern states. The inhabitants of the populous towns, and those from the country who have intercourse with them, are in their manners and customs like the people of the other states in like situations. That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those who, from their infancy, are taught to believe and to feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland. But with this characteristic we must not fail to connect that of hospitality to strangers, which is equally universal and obvious, and is, perhaps, in part, the offspring

offspring of it. The inhabitants are made up of various nations of many different religious sentiments; few general observations, therefore, of a characteristical kind will apply;

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## C H A P. VI.

*Of North and South Carolina.*

CAROLINA<sup>\*</sup> was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions into the New world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they paid no attention to it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile region, in order to go and cultivate a more unfertile soil, in a less agreeable climate. There was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Ashley; sir George Carteret, sir William Berkeley, and sir William Colleton obtained from Charles II. A. D. 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at least, to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refuse them in Europe: nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on

account of a blindness, which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was Mr. Lock's reasoning with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should, at the age of seventeen, register himself in some particular communion. The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had restrained his views, as will be the case of every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; it is certain that the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation \*.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation. The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but with new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to have four-score thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be bestowed, were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable; a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the term of three lives. The lower house was composed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than about one shilling, per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under a obligation to take up arms upon the

\* Abbé Raynal.

first order they should receive from the Palatine court. It was not long before the defects of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to be discerned. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves, with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful exertion of industry. The whole province distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumult, was rendered incapable of making any progress, though great improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation. Nor were these evils sufficient to call for a redress, which was only to arise from the excess to which they were carried.

Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, A. D. 1705. was sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who were two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. While this animosity was still subsisting, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continual course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. These unfortunate wretches were all conquered and put to the sword; but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all expecting Carteret, who still preserved one-eighth of the country, stripped A. D. 1778. of their prerogatives, which they had only made an ill use of. They received, however, 23,625*l.* by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, gave it the same constitution as the rest. It was likewise divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

*North-Carolina*, on the sea-coast, is a level country, of which a great porportion is covered with forests. About sixty miles from the sea, it rises into hills and mountains. Newbern, Edenton, Wilmington, Halifax and Hillsborough, have each in their turns been considered as capitals



of the state. At present they have no capital. The convention which met to consider the new constitution, fixed on a place in Wake county to be the seat of government, but the town is not yet built. The North Carolinians are mostly planters, and live from half a mile to three or four miles from each other, on their plantations. They have little intercourse with strangers, and a natural fondness for society, which induce them to be hospitable to travellers. In the lower districts the inhabitants have very few places for public and weekly worship of any kind; and these few, being destitute of ministers, are suffered to stand neglected. The sabbath of course, which, in most civilized countries, is professionally and externally, at least, regarded as holy time, and which, considered merely in a civil view, is an excellent establishment for the promotion of cleanliness, friendship, harmony, and all the social virtues, is here generally disregarded, or distinguished by the convivial visitings of the white inhabitants, and the noisy diversions of the negroes. The general topic, of conversation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurrences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, tobacco, &c. They appear to have as little taste for the sciences as for religion. Political enquiries and philosophical disquisitions, are attended to by a few men of genius and industry, but are too laborious for the indolent minds of the people at large. Less attention and respect are paid to the women here, than in those parts of the United States where the inhabitants have made greater progress in the arts of civilized life. Indeed, it is a truth, confirmed by observation, that in proportion to the advancement of civilization, in the same proportion will respect for the women be increased; so that the progress of civilization in countries, in states, in towns, and in families, may be marked by the degree of attention which is paid by husbands to their wives, and by the young men to the young women. Temperance and industry are not to be reckoned among the virtues of the North Carolinians. The time which they waste in drinking, idling, and gambling, leaves them but very little opportunity to improve their plantations or their minds. The improvement of the former is left to their overseers and negroes; the improvement of the latter is too often neglected. Were the time, which is thus wasted, spent in cultivating the soil, and in treasuring up knowledge, they might be both wealthy and learned; for they have a productive country, and are by no means destitute of genius.

By the constitution of this state, which was ratified in December, 1776, all legislative authority is vested in two  
distinct.

distinct branches, both dependent on the people, viz. a senate and house of commons, which, when convened for business, are styled the *General Assembly*.

In *South-Carolina*, the vegetation of every kind of plant is incredibly quick. The climate and soil have something in them so kindly, that the latter, when left to itself, naturally throws out an immense quantity of flowers and flowering shrubs. All the European plants arrive at perfection here beyond that in which their native country affords them. At an hundred miles distance from Charles Town, the soil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpose of human life, nor can any thing be imagined more pleasant to the eye than the variegated disposition of the back country. Here the air is pure and wholesome, and the summer heat much more temperate than in the flat sandy coast. Both the Carolinas produce quantities of honey, of which they make excellent spirits, and meads good as Malaga sack. Of all these, the three great staple commodities at present are, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine. Nothing surprises an European more at first sight, than the size of the trees here, as well as in Virginia and other American countries. Their trunks are often from fifty to seventy feet high, without a branch or limb; and frequently above thirty-six feet in circumference. Of these trunks when hollowed, the people of Charles-Town, as well as the Indians, make canoes, which serve to transport provisions and other goods from place to place; and some of them are so large, that they will carry thirty or forty barrels of pitch, though formed of one entire piece of timber. Of these are likewise made curious pleasure boats.

Charleston is the only considerable town in South Carolina. It is situated on the tongue of land which is formed by the confluence of Ashley and Cooper-rivers, which are large and navigable. These rivers mingle their waters immediately below the town, and form a spacious and convenient harbour, which communicates with the ocean at Sullivan's Island, seven miles south east of the town. The land on which the town is built is flat and low, and the water brackish and unwholesome. The inhabitants are obliged to raise banks of earth as barriers to defend themselves against the higher floods of the sea. The streets from east to west extend from river to river, and running in a straight line, not only open beautiful prospects each way, but afford excellent opportunities, by means of subterranean drains, for removing all nuisances and keeping the city clean and healthy. These streets are intersected by others, nearly at right angles, and throw the town into a number of squares,

with dwelling-houses in front, and office-houses, and little gardens behind. The houses which have been lately built, are brick, with tiled roofs. Some of the buildings in Charleston are elegant, and most of them are neat, airy, and well furnished. The public buildings are an exchange, state house, armoury, poor house, two large churches for episcopalians, two for congregationalists or independents, one for Scotch Presbyterians, two for the Baptists, one for the German Lutherans, one for the methodists, one for French protestants; besides a meeting-house for quakers, and two Jewish synagogues, one for the Portuguese, the other for the German Jews.

The Jews in Charleston, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have this: after the funeral dirge is sung, and just before the corpse is deposited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a small bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceased; then some powder, said to be earth brought from Jerusalem and carefully kept for this purpose, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpse, in token of their remembrance of the holy land; and of their expectation of returning thither in God's appointed time.

There is no peculiarity in the manners of the generality of the inhabitants of this state, except what arises from the mischievous influence of slavery; and, in this indeed, they do not differ from the inhabitants of the southern states. Slavery, by exempting great numbers from the necessities of labour, leads to luxury, dissipation, and extravagance. The absolute authority which is exercised over their slaves, too much favours a haughty, supercilious behaviour. The Carolinians sooner arrive at maturity, both in their bodies and minds, than the natives of colder climates. They possess a natural quickness and vivacity of genius superior to the inhabitants of the north; but too generally want that enterprise and perseverance, which are necessary for the highest attainment in the arts and sciences. They have, indeed, few motives to enterprize. Inhabiting a fertile country, which, by the labour of the slaves, produces plentifully, and creates affluence in a climate which favours indulgence, ease, and a disposition for convivial pleasures, they too generally rest contented with barely knowledge enough to transact the common affairs of life.

Hunting is the most fashionable amusement in this state. At this the country gentlemen are extremely expert, and with surprising dexterity pursue their game through the woods. Theatrical exhibitions have been prohibited in Charleston. Gaming of all kinds is more discounted  
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panced among fashionable people in this, than in any of the southern states. Twice a year, stately, a class of sportive gentlemen, in this and the neighbouring states, have their horse-races. Bets of ten and fifteen hundred guineas are sometimes laid on these occasions.

Gentlemen of fortune, before the late war, sent their sons to Europe for education. Since that time they have generally sent them to the middle and northern states. Those who have been at this expence in educating their sons, have been but comparatively few in number, so that the literature of the state is at a low ebb. Since the peace, however, it has begun to flourish; and there are now several eminent academies, not only in Charleston, but in other parts of the state.

## C H A P. VII.

### *Of Georgia.*

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land, which extends one hundred and twenty miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Altamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors, as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, which was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning sovereign. This instance of respect, the more pleasing as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added ten thousand pounds to the estate left by the will of the citizen;

citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the House of Commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he himself chose to conduct the first colonists that were sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot ten miles distant from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile place on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, it was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons, but before the end of the year, the number was increased to six hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-seven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and twelve lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity. This settlement was in-

A.D. 1735. created by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alutamaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year, a great number of protestants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot just above that of the infant colony, but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town, called Ebenezer. Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of an hundred habitations, was named Purytury, from Pury, their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him. In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest, in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty miles distant from the

the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but they were induced to it by the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these skins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the large ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 65,000*l.* exclusive of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But, to her great surprise, she received information, in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who, being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered. The colony, even in its infancy, brought forth the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations any more than individuals, do not learn instruction from their past misconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every abuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, facilitated the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals. The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters, not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate. As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of

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of emulation. It seldom happens that a man resolves to leave his country, but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. All limits, therefore, prescribed to his industry, are so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase. The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, were very inconsiderable, and even these were not levied till the settlements acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenue raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them, than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another, which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought that a country destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by their mother-country than their neighbours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage, and in a hotter climate, would want health and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement. The indolence, which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with  
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the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities in return for the rum of those islands. The mother-country, at length, perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with. The government of Georgia was settled upon the same principles as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions. From the time Georgia became a royal government, till the A. D. 1752. peace of Paris, in 1763, she struggled under many difficulties, arising from the want of credit, from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. The good effects of the peace were sensibly felt in the province of Georgia. From this time it began to flourish under the fatherly care of governor Wright. To form a judgment of the rapid growth of the colony, we need only attend to its exports.

In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia consisted of 7,500 barrels of rice, 9,633 pounds of indigo, 1,250 bushels of Indian corn, which together with deer and beaver skins, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than 27,021*l.* sterling. Ten years afterwards, in 1773, it exported commodities to the value of 121,677*l.* sterling.

During the late war, Georgia was over-run by the British troops, and the inhabitants were obliged to flee into the neighbouring states for safety. The sufferings and losses of her citizens were as great, in proportion to their numbers and wealth, as in any of the states. Since the peace, the progress of the population of this state has been astonishingly rapid. Its growth in improvement and population has been checked by the hostile irruptions of the Creek Indians, which have been frequent, and very distressing to the frontier inhabitants for some years past. This formidable nation of Indians, headed by one Mac Gilvery, an inhabitant of Georgia, who sided with the British in the late war, still continues to harass the frontiers of this state. Treaties have been held, and a cessation of hostilities agreed to between the parties; but all have hitherto proved ineffectual to the accomplishment of a peace. It is expected that, under the new government conciliatory measures will be adopted, and tranquillity restored to the state.



The numerous defects in the constitution of this state, induced the citizens, almost universally, to petition for a revision of it; when it was agreed, in convention, that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments should be distinct and separate bodies.

Georgia has two towns, well known in trade. Savannah, the capital, is commodiously situated for an inland and foreign trade, about ten miles from the sea, upon a noble river of the same name, which is navigable for 200 miles farther for large boats, to the second town, called Augusta, which stands in a country of the greatest fertility, and carries on a considerable trade with the Indians. From the town of Savannah you see the whole course of the river towards the sea; and, on the other hand, you see the river for about sixty miles up into the country. About twelve miles from this metropolis, the Rev. George Whitefield, who used to cross the Atlantic every second year, founded an orphan-house academy; for the support of which, in his itinerations, he collected large sums of money from all denominations of Christians both in England and America. Part of this money was expended in erecting proper buildings to accommodate students, and part in supporting them. In 1768, it was proposed that the orphan-house should be erected into a college. Whereupon Mr. Whitefield applied to the crown for a charter, which would have been readily granted, on condition that the president should, in all successions, be an episcopalian of the church of England. Several letters passed between the arch-bishop of Canterbury and Mr. Whitefield on the subject, in which the arch-bishop insisted on this condition. But Mr. Whitefield, though himself an episcopalian, declined it, alledging to his grace, that it would be unjust to limit that office to any particular sect, when the donations for the foundation of the institution had been made and entrusted to him by the various religious denominations, both in England and America. In consequence of this dispute, the affair of a charter was given up, and Mr. Whitefield made his assignment of the orphan-house to the counts of Huntingdon. Mr. Whitefield died at Newbury Port, in New England,

A. D. 1770. in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was buried under the presbyterian church in that place. Soon after his death a charter was granted to his institution in Georgia, and the Rev. Mr. Percy was appointed president of the college. Mr. Percy accordingly came over to execute his office, but, unfortunately, on the 30th of May, 1775, the orphan-house building caught fire, and was entirely

tirely consumed, except the two wings, which are still remaining. The American war soon after came on, and put every thing into confusion, and the funds have ever since lain in an unproductive state. It is probable that the college estate may hereafter be so incorporated with the university of Georgia, as to answer, in some measure, the original and pious purposes of its founder.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*New American States.*

**B**ESIDES the provinces above mentioned, other states have lately risen in North America, and it is in contemplation to form many more out of the immense extent of unappropriated territory.

*Kentucky*, belonging at present to the state of Virginia, is bounded by the Ohio in its whole length. The greatest part of the soil is amazingly fertile, and the climate is more temperate and healthy than any in the New World. The first white man we have any certain account of, who discovered this province, was one James McBride, who in company with some others, passing A. D. 1754. down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remains to this day. These men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleasing news of their discovery of the best tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians by the name of the Dark and Bloody Grounds, and, sometimes, the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Colonel Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it an interesting object, agreed, in the year 1769, to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, they at length

length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, decried the beautiful landscape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt for provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Colonel Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations; and, returning to camp, informed their companions of their discovery. But, in spite of this promising beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardships and adversity, grew exceedingly disheartened, and were plundered, dispersed, and killed by the Indians, except colonel Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderness until the year 1771, when he returned home. About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of several gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour westward for discoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and general Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchased from the five nations of Indians the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky. Colonel Donaldson of Virginia, being employed by the state to run a line from six miles above the Long Island, on Holstein, to the mouth of the great Kanaway, and finding thereby that an extensive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was solicited, by the inhabitants of Clench and Holstein, to purchase the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchase he completed for five hundred pounds, specie. It was then agreed to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Island on Holstein to the head of Kentucky river; thence down the same to the mouth; thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Great Kanaway; but this valuable purchase the state refused to confirm. Colonel Henderson, of North Carolina, being informed of this country by colonel Boon, he, and some other gentlemen, held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, and then

A. D. 1775. purchased from them the lands lying on the south side of Kentucky river for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of 6000l. specie. Soon after this purchase, the state of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money colonel Donaldson had contracted for, and then disputed colonel Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentleman of another state, in behalf of himself. For his eminent services, however, to this country, and for having been instrumental in making so valuable an acquisition to Virginia, that state was pleased to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green river, to the amount of 200,000 acres; and the state of North Carolina

lina gave him the like quantity in Powel's valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whose tide, if they had any, originated in such a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to possess it. Hence this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as soon as Mr. Henderfon and his friends proposed the purchase, the Indians agreed to sell; and notwithstanding the valuable consideration they received, have continued ever since troublesome neighbours to the new settlers. The progress in improvements and cultivation, which have been made in this country, almost exceeds belief. Eleven years ago Kentucky lay in forests, almost uninhabited but by wild beasts. Now, notwithstanding the united opposition of all the Indians, it exhibits an extensive settlement, divided into seven large and populous counties, in which are a number of flourishing little towns, containing more inhabitants than are in Georgia, Delaware, and Rhode-Island states, and nearly or quite as many as in New Hampshire. An instance of the like kind, where a settlement has had so large and rapid a growth, can scarcely be produced from the page of history. An idea may be formed of the astonishing emigrations to this country, from the following account taken by the adjutant of the troops, stationed at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum. From the 10th of October 1786, to the 12th of May 1787, were seen to pass 177 boats, containing 2689 souls, 1353 horses, 766 cattle, 112 waggons, and two phaetons, besides a very considerable number that passed in the night unobserved. It is at present peopled by above one hundred and fifty thousand settlers. From the interior settlements of this vast country, America will derive her future greatness, and establish new empires to rival, and perhaps outdo the ancient world.

The natural curiosities of Kentucky are astonishing and innumerable: caves are found amazingly large, in some of which you may travel several miles under a fine lime stone rock, supported by curious arches and pillars; in most of them run streams of water. Near Lexington are to be seen curious sepulchres, full of human skeletons. There are three springs, or ponds of bitumen near Green river; which discharge themselves into a common reservoir, and when used in lamps, answer all the purposes of the finest oil.\*

\* Morfe.

There are many alum banks, and different places abounding with copper, which, when refined, is equal to any in the world. At a salt spring near the Ohio river, very large bones have been found, far surpassing the size of any species of animals now in America; the head appears to have been considerably above three feet long. Doctor Hunter said it could not be the elephant, and that from the form of the teeth it must have been carnivorous, and belonging to a race of animals now extinct. Specimens have been sent both to France and England. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in these regions, where none such now exist, are very difficult questions, and variously resolved. The variety of conjectures serves only to prove the futility of all. Among the natural curiosities of this place, the winding banks or rather precipices of Kentucky river, are particularly deserving to be recorded. The astonished eye there beholds almost every where three or four hundred feet of a solid perpendicular lime stone rock; in some parts a fine white marble. These precipices are like the sides of a deep trench or canal; the land above is level, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar.

The warbling tenants of the grove are here numerous, and exhibit all the variety of feathered beauty, as well as the melody of sylvan song. The paroquet is common here, as is the ivory-bill wood-cock, of a whitish colour, with a white plume; the bill is pure ivory. Here is an owl like ours, but different in vociferation; it makes a surprising noise like a man in distress.

The state of *Vermont* is a vast country, situated eastward of New-Hampshire, south of Massachusetts, and west of New York. It is one hundred and fifty three miles in length, and sixty in breadth. The capital of the state is Bennington. The Allens are the chiefs or head men of the country. It is governed by its own laws, independent of Congress and the states. Hitherto it has been an object of contention between the states of New York and New Hampshire. The people had for a long time, no other name than Green Mountain boys, which they gallicized into *Verdmont*, and since corrupted into the easier pronunciation of *Vermont*.

The antique forests, into which the arm of man is just carrying the destructive axe, every where afford the most grand and sublime prospects. Little of the land of this state is yet cleared, but the emigrations to it from other states are considerable, and it will soon become well cultivated, and equal in fertility to the states in its neighbourhood. Its population is said already to amount to 150,000. The declaration which they made by their representatives in convention, at Windsor,

Windsor, on the 25th of December 1777, and which make a part of their constitution, breathes as high a spirit of liberty as that of any of their neighbours. They assert that all men are born equally free, with equal rights, and ought to enjoy liberty of conscience—freedom of the press—trial by jury—power to form new states in vacant countries, and to regulate their own internal police---that all elections ought to be free---that all power is originally in the people---that government ought to be instituted for the common benefit of the community---and that the community have a right to to reform or abolish government---that every member of society hath a right to protection of life, liberty, and property ---and in return, is bound to contribute his porportion of the expence of that protection, and yield his personal service when necessary---that he shall not be obliged to give evidence against himself---that the people have a right to bear arms ---but no standing army shall be maintained in time of peace ---that the people have a right to hold themselves, their houses, papers, and possessions free from search or seizure, and therefore warrants, without oaths first made, affording sufficient foundation for them, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted.

The states of New York and Pennsylvania have *large tracts of fertile land*, extending to the lakes, proper for the forming of settlements, and very capital ones have lately been made. This country will in future prove one of the most advantageous commercial situations in America, having in a manner, the key of Canada, and of all the northern Indian trade; the navigation extending from the western sea to the lakes, has no other obstruction than small portages, which, in time, will be converted into canals. The fur trade will chiefly centre in this country.

In the inland country of Virginia and North Carolina, the settlements, in many parts, extend to the mountains. In the eastern parts of Virginia, settlements have been made in the mountains themselves, where some industrious Germans, who found the land in the vallies taken up, have established considerable plantations. South Carolina has immense tracts of fertile land unfettled.

The state of Virginia, possessing lands on the other side of the mountains, (and having more immediate communication with the Ohio country on the river), many thousands have passed over them, and settled themselves in that tract which lies between the mountains and the river. It is said some emigrants have crossed that river, and settled in the country bordering on the lakes.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the West Indies in general—Hurricanes—Sugar-Plantations—Negroes—Slave-Trade.*

THE climate in all the West India islands is nearly the same, allowing for those accidental differences, which the several situations and qualities of the lands themselves produce. As they lie within the tropics, and the sun never recedes farther from any of them than about thirty degrees to the south, they are continually subjected to the extreme of an heat, which would be intolerable, if the trade winds, rising gradually as the sun gathers strength, did not blow in upon them from the sea, and refresh the air in such a manner as to enable the inhabitants to attend their concerns, even under the meridian sun. On the other hand, as night advances, a breeze begins to be perceived, which blows smartly from the land;

land, as it were from the centre, towards the sea, to all points of the compass at once. By the same remarkable providence in the disposing of things, it is, that when the sun has made a great progress towards the tropic of Cancer, and becomes in a manner vertical, he draws after him such a vast body of clouds, as shield them from his direct beams; and dissolving into rain, cool the air, and refresh the country, thirsty with the long drought, which commonly reigns from the beginning of January to the latter end of May.

The rains in the West Indies are far more violent than with us. Our heaviest rains are but dews comparatively. They are rather floods of water, poured from the clouds with prodigious impetuosity; the rivers rise in a moment; new rivers and lakes are formed, and in a short time all the low country is under water\*. Hence it is, that the rivers which have their source within the tropics, swell and overflow their banks at a certain season; but so mistaken were the ancients in their idea of the torrid zone, that they imagined it to be dried and scorched up with a continual and fervent heat, and to be for that reason uninhabitable; when in reality, some of the largest rivers of the world have their course within its limits, and the moisture is often one of the greatest inconveniences of the climate. The rains make the only distinction of seasons in the West Indies; the trees are green the whole year round; they have no cold, no frosts, no snows, and but rarely some hail; the storms of hail are, however, very violent when they happen, and the hail stones very great and heavy. Whether it be owing to this moisture, which alone does not seem to be a sufficient cause, or to the greater quantity of a sulphureous acid, which predominates in the air, metals of all kinds that are subject to the action of such causes, rust and canker in a very short time; and this cause, perhaps as much as the heat itself, contributes to make the climate of the West Indies unfriendly and unpleasant to European constitutions. It is in the rainy season, and chiefly in the month of August, that they are assaulted by hurricane; the most terrible calamity to which they are subject from the climate. This destroys at a stroke, the labours of many years, and prostrate the most exalted hopes of the planter, and often just at a moment when he thinks himself out of the reach of fortune. It is a sudden and violent storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, attended with a furious swelling of the seas, and sometimes with an earthquake: in short with every circumstance, which the elements can assemble, that is terrible and destructive. First they see as

\* Wafer's Journey across the Isthmus of Darien.



the prelude to the ensuing havock, whole fields of sugar-canes whirled into the air, and scattered over the face of the country. The strongest trees of the forest are torn up by the roots and driven about like stubble; their wind-mills are swept away in a moment; their utensils, the fixtures, the ponderous copper boilers, and stills of several hundred weight, are wrenched from the ground, and battered to pieces; their houses yield no protection; the roofs are torn off at one blast; whilst the rain, which in an hour rises five feet, rushes in upon them with an irresistible violence.

The hurricanes come on either in the quarters, or at the full or change of the moon. If they happen at the full moon, the sky is very turbulent, the sun more red than at other times; a dead calm prevails, and the hills are clear of all those clouds and mists which usually hover about them. In the clefts of the earth, and the wells, you hear a hollow rumbling sound, like the rushing of a great wind. At night the stars seem much larger than usual, and surrounded with a sort of bars; the north west sky has a black and menacing look; the sea emits a strong smell, and rises into vast waves, often without any wind; the wind itself now forsakes its usual steady easterly stream, and shifts about to the west from whence it sometimes blows with intermissions, violently and irregularly, for about two hours at a time. The moon herself is surrounded with a great bar; sometimes the sun has the same appearance. These are signs which the Indians of these islands taught our planters, by which they can prognosticate the approach of a hurricane.

The grand staple commodity of the West Indians is sugar; a commodity not at all known to the Greeks and Romans, though it was made in China in very early times, from whence we had the first knowledge of it; but the Portuguese were the first who cultivated it in America, and brought it into request, as one of the materials of very universal luxury in Europe. It is not settled whether the cane, from which this substance is extracted, be a native of America, or brought thither to their colony of Brasil, by the Portuguese, from India and the coast of Africa; but, however that matter may be, in the beginning they made the most, as they still do the best, sugars which come to market, in this part of the world. The juice within the sugar cane is the most lively, elegant, and least cloying sweet in nature; and which, sucked raw, has proved extremely nutritive and wholesome. From the molasses rum is distilled, and from the scumming of the sugar a meaner spirit is procured. Rum finds its market in North America, where it is consumed by the inhabitants, or employed in the African trade, or distributed from thence to the fishery

fishery of Newfoundland, and other parts, besides what comes to great Britain and Ireland. However, a very great quantity of molasses is taken off raw, and carried to New England to be distilled there. The tops of the canes, and the leaves which grow upon the joints, make very good provender for their cattle; and the refuse of the cane, after grinding, serves for fire; so that no part of this excellent plant is without its use.

The sugar cane commonly rises eight or nine feet, including the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its most ordinary thickness is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardish rind, which incloses a spongy substance. It is intersected at intervals with joints, that serve as it were to strengthen and support it; but without impeding the circulation of the sap, because these joints are soft and pithy in the inside. This plant hath been cultivated from the earliest antiquity in some countries of Asia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it passed into the southern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards transplanted into Maderia and the Canaries.

From these islands it was brought into the New World, where it succeeded as well as if it had been originally a native of it. All soils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and strong, low and marshy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, insipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified and preserved. Canes planted in ground, where they soon meet with soft stone or rock, have but a very short duration, and yield but little sugar. A light, porous, and deep soil, is by nature most favourable to this production. The general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field, to make, at the distance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and six deep; to lay in these, two, and sometimes three slips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the slips issues the stem, which in time becomes a sugar-cane. Care should be taken to clear it constantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for six months. The canes then are sufficiently thick and near one another, to destroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly suffered to grow eighteen months, and are seldom cut at any other time. From the stock of these issue suckers, which are, in their turn, cut fifteen months after.

This second cutting yields only half of the produce of the first. The planters sometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always successively less, however good the soil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afresh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane. These crops are not made in all the colonies at the same time. In the Danish, Spanish, and Dutch settlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed season for the maturity of the sugar cane. The plant, however, like others, must have its progress; and it has been generally observed to be in flower in the months of November and December. It must necessarily follow from the custom these nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermission, that they cut some canes that are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requisite qualities. The time of gathering them should be at a fixed season, and probably the months of March and April are the fittest for it; because all the sweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the four ones do not arrive to a state of maturity till the months of July and August. The English cut their canes in March and April, but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeness. The drought that prevails in their islands renders the rains which follow in September necessary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the precise point of maturity. In order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, they are passed between two cylinders of iron or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horses, but, in water-mills, this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whose circumference, meeting a current of water, receives an impression which turns it upon its axis. This motion is from right to left, if the current of water strike the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current strike the lower part. From the reservoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler, where those particles of water, which are most easily separated, are made to evaporate. This liquor is poured into another boiler, when a moderate fire makes it throw off its first scum. When it has lost its clammy consistence, it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more scum by means of an increased degree of heat. It then receives the last boiling in a fourth

cauldron, whose fire is three times stronger than the first. This last fire determines the success of the process. If it hath been well managed, the sugar forms crystals that are larger or smaller, more or less bright, in proportion to the greater or less quantity of oil with which they abound. If the fire hath been too violent, the substance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract, which cannot produce any more essential salt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a considerable quantity of extraneous oils, which distinguish the sugar, and render it thick and blackish; so that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, because the spaces which these oil filled up, remain empty.

As soon as the sugar is cool, it is poured into earthen vessels of a conic figure; the base of the cone is open, and its top has a hole, through which is carried off the water that has not formed any crystals. This is called the syrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw sugar remains, which is rich, brown, and salt. Most of the islands leave to Europeans the care of giving sugar the other preparations, which are necessary to make it fit for use. This practice spares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ships for exportation. The French planters alone have thought it their interest to manage their sugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactness the juice sugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the salts of sugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. These give it a dead colour and the taste of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This consists in putting the raw sugars again into a new earthen vessel, in every respect similar to that already mentioned. The surface of the sugar, throughout the whole extent of the basis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different saline particles, when this earth meets with oily substances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening of the top of the mould, and a second syrup\* is procured, which is so much the worse in proportion as the sugar is finer, and contains less extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, dissolved by the water, passes along, and carries

\* Molasses.

with it all its acrid particles. This earthing is followed by the last preparation, which is effected by fire, and serves for the evaporating of the moisture with which the salts are impregnated, during the process of earthing. In order to do this, the sugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical vessel of earth, and conveyed into a stove, which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the sugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks. Though the expence which this process requires, is in general useless, since the earthed sugar is commonly refined in Europe in the same manner as the raw sugar; all the inhabitants of the French islands, however, who are able to purify their sugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whose navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it, in times of war, to convey into its own mother-country, the most valuable cargoes, with a less number of ships than if only raw sugars were prepared\*.

The value of syrup is only a twelfth of that of the price of sugars. The best syrup is that which runs from the first vessel into the second, when the raw sugar is made. It is composed of grosser particles, which carry along with them the salts of sugar. The syrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and less in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the sugar, when it is washed. By means of fire, some sugar is besides extracted from the first syrup, which, after this operation, is of less value than the second. Both these kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people use them instead of butter and sugar. In North America they make the same use of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taste to a liquor called *Pruss*, which is only an infusion of the bark of a tree. This syrup is still more useful, by the secret that has been discovered, of converting it, by distillation, into rum. This process, which is very simple, is made by mixing a third part of syrup with two-thirds of water. When these two substances have sufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean still, where the distillation is made as usual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the syrup employed.

By the particulars we have seen, and by others which we may easily imagine, the expences of a plantation in the

West Indies are very great, and the profits, at the first view, very precarious; for, the chargeable articles of the wind mill, the boiling, cooling, and distilling houses, and the buying and supporting a suitable number of slaves and cattle, will not suffer any man to begin a sugar plantation of any consequence, not to mention the purchase of land, which is very high, under a capital of at least 5000*l*. Neither is the life of a planter, if he means to acquire a fortune, a life of idleness and luxury; at all times he must keep a watchful eye upon his overseers, and even oversee himself occasionally. But at the boiling season, if he is properly attentive to his affairs, no way of life can be more laborious and more dangerous to the health; from a constant attendance day and night, in the extreme united heats of the climate, and so many fiery furnaces; add to this the losses by hurricanes, earthquakes, and bad seasons; and then consider when the sugars are in the cask, that he quits the hazard of a planter, to engage in the hazard of a merchant, and ships his product at his own risk. Notwithstanding all this, there are no parts of the world, in which great estates are made in so short a time, from the produce of the earth, as in the West Indies. The produce of a few good seasons generally provides against the ill effects of the worst, as the planter is sure of a speedy and profitable market for his produce, which has a readier sale than perhaps any other commodity in the world.

Large plantations are generally under the care of a manager, or chief overseer, who has commonly a salary of 150*l*. a year, with overseers under him in proportion to the greatness of the plantation, one to about thirty negroes, with a salary of about 40*l*. Such plantations too have a surgeon at a fixed salary, employed to take care of the negroes which belong to them. But the course which is least troublesome to the owner of the estates is, to let the land, with all the works, and the stock of cattle and slaves, to a tenant, who gives security for the payment of the rent and the keeping up repairs and stock. The estate is generally estimated to such a tenant at half the net produce of the best years; such tenants, if industrious and frugal men, soon make good estates for themselves. The negroes in the plantations are supported at a very easy rate. This generally is by allotting to each family of them a small portion of land, and allowing them two days in a week, Saturday and Sunday, to cultivate it. Some are supported in this manner, but others find their negroes a certain portion of Guinea or Indian corn, and, to some a salt herring, or a small portion of bacon or salt pork a day. All the rest of  
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the charge consists in a cap, a shirt, a pair of breeches, and a blanket; and the profits of their labour yield 10 or 12l. annually. The price of male negroes, upon their first arrival is from 30 to 36l. women and grown boys fifty shillings less; but such negro families as are acquainted with the business of the island generally bring above 40l. upon an average one with another; and there are instances of a single negro man, expert in business, bringing 150 guineas; and the wealth of a planter is generally computed from the number of slaves he possesses.

With regard to slavery, however, let none endeavour to justify by policy what morality condemns. Montesquieu could not prevail upon himself to treat the question concerning slavery in a serious light. He said, it would be degrading reason to employ it, in refuting an abuse so repugnant to it. A late eloquent writer delivers his sentiments on the subject, in the following words: "Cartouche, the highwayman, sitting at the foot of a tree in a deep forest, calculating the profits and losses of his robberies, the reward and pay of his associates, and adjusting with them the ideas of proportion and distributive justice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the planter, who is seated on his counter, with his pen in his hand, settles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coast of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will cost him, in order to support the war which is to supply him with slaves; how many iron fetters to confine him on board, how many whips to make him work? How much each drop of blood is well worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation? Whether the black women will contribute more to his estate by the labours of their hands, or by those of bearing children? What think you of this parallel? The highwayman attacks you and takes your money, the trader carries off even your person. The one invades the rights of society, the other those of nature." This certainly is the truth. "But these negroes (say some) are a race of men born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow and treacherous, and wicked; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority. The minds of the negroes are contracted; because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligations to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings;

standings; because we have abused their ignorance; they allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness. I might as well say, that the Indians are a species of men born to be crushed to death, because there are fanatics among them, who throw themselves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguérnat.—But these negroes, it is further urged, were born slaves. Can a man be the property of a sovereign, a son the property of a father, a wife the property of a husband, a domestic the property of a master, a negro the property of a planter?—But these slaves have sold themselves. Could a man ever, by compact, or by any oath, permit another to use and abuse him? If he assented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a transport of ignorance or folly; and he is released from it the moment that he either knows himself or his reason returns.—But they had been taken in war. What does this signify to you? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill use he pleases of his own victory. Why do you make yourselves his accomplices?—But they were criminals condemned in their country to slavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a despotic state, there is no criminal but the tyrant.—Let us therefore endeavour to make the light of reason and the sentiments of nature take place of the blind ferocity of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even be obliged to discard a commerce which is founded only on injustice, and whose object is luxury. But even this is not necessary. There is no occasion to give up those conveniences which custom hath so much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with slaves. These productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorse. The islands are filled with blacks, whose fetters have been broken. They successively clear the small plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their industry. Such of these unhappy men, as should recover their independence, would live quietly, upon the same manual labours that would be then free and advantageous to them.—At the time that we gradually confer liberty on these unhappy beings, as a reward for their œconomy, their good behaviour, and their industry, we must be careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities. We must give them a country, give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their respective tastes, and our colonies will



will never want hands, which, being eased of their chains, will be more active and robust \*.

To particularise the commodities proper for the West Indian merchant, would be to enumerate all the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life; for they have nothing of their own but cotton, coffee, tropical fruits, spices, and the commodities already mentioned. Traders there make a very large profit upon all they sell; but from the numerous shipping constantly arriving from Europe, and a continual succession of new adventurers, each of whom carry out more or less as a venture, the West India market is frequently overstocked; money must be raised, and goods are sometimes sold at prime cost, or under. But those who can afford to store their goods, and wait for a better market, acquire fortunes equal to any of the planters. All kind of handicraftsmen, especially carpenters, bricklayers, braziers and coopers, get very great encouragement. But it is the misfortune of the West Indies, that physicians and surgeons even outdo the planter and merchant, in accumulating riches.

Before the late war, there were allowed to be in our West Indies at least 230,000 negro slaves; and, upon the highest calculation, the whites did not amount to 90,000 souls. This disproportion between the freemen and the negroes, which grows more visible every day, some writers have endeavoured to account for, by alledging that the enterprising spirit, which the novelty of the subject and various concurrent causes, had produced in the last century, has very much decayed; and that the disposition of the West Indians themselves, who, for cheapness choose to do every thing by negroes which can possibly be done by them, contributes greatly to the small number of whites of the lower station. Such, indeed, is the powerful influence of avarice, that though the whites are kept in constant terror of insurrections and plots, many families employ twenty-five or thirty negroes, as menial servants, who are infinitely the most dangerous of the slaves, and, in case of any insurrection, have it more in their power to strike a sudden and fatal blow; and the cruelty with which the negroes are often treated, gives the white inhabitants too much reason for their apprehensions.

The first observation that has been mentioned, in order to account for the present disproportion between the freemen and the negroes in the West Indies, is not, perhaps, well founded. That enterprising spirit, which first led

\* Abbé Raynal.

Britons out to discovery and colonization, still animates, in a very considerable degree, the people of this nation; but the field has been lately more ample and enlarged, and emigrants have had greater scope to range. Besides the vast continent of North America, which takes in such a variety of climates, and discovers such a richness of soil, the East Indies, an inexhaustible mine of riches, have in some degree drawn the attention of mankind from that of the West. Many of the best families of this nation are ambitious of procuring places for their sons in the East Indies. Here is an ample field for all adventurous spirits, who, disdaining an idle life at home, and ambitious of becoming useful to themselves, their connections, or the community, boldly venture into the immense regions of the Eastern world.

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## C H A P. X.

### *Jamaica—Port Royal destroyed by an Earthquake—Condition of the Negroes.*

THE islands of the West Indies lie in the form of a bow, or semicircle, stretching from north to south from the coast of Florida, to the river Orinoco, in the main continent of South America. The most important island belonging to Great Britain is Jamaica, which lies near 4500 miles south west of England. It is intersected by a ridge of steep rocks, tumbled, by the frequent earthquakes, in a stupendous manner, upon one another. The rocks, though containing no soil on their surface, are covered with a great variety of beautiful trees flourishing in a perpetual Spring; being nourished by the rains, which often fall, or the mists which continually brood on the mountains, and which their roots penetrating the crannies of the rocks industriously seek out for their own support. From the rocks issue a vast number of small rivers of pure wholesome water, which tumble down in cataracts, and, together with the stupendous height of the mountains, and the bright verdure of the trees through which they flow, form a most delightful landscape. On each side of the chain of mountains are ridges of lower ones, which diminish as they

they remove from it. On these coffee grows in great plenty. The vallies or plains between these ridges, are level beyond what is ordinary in most other countries, and the soil is prodigiously fertile.

The longest day in summer is about thirteen hours, and the shortest in winter is about eleven; but the most useful divisions, of the seasons in the West Indies are into the dry and wet seasons. The air of this island is, in many places, excessively hot and unfavourable to European constitutions; but the cold sea breezes, which set in every morning at ten o'clock, render the heat more tolerable; and the air upon the high ground is temperate, pure and cooling, lightens almost every night, but without much thunder; which when it happens is very terrible, and the lightning in these violent storms frequently does great damage. In February or March they expect earthquakes, of which we shall speak hereafter. During the months of May and October, the rains are extremely violent, and continue sometimes for a fortnight together. In the plains are found several salt fountains; and in the mountains, not far from the Spanish town, is a hot bath, of great medicinal virtues. It gives relief in the dry belly-ach, which excepting the bilious and yellow fever, is one of the most terrible endemial distempers of Jamaica.

Sugar is the greatest and most valuable production of this island. Cocoa was formerly cultivated in it to great extent. It produces also ginger, and the pimento, or, as it is called, Jamaica pepper; the wild cinnamon-tree, whose bark is so useful in medicine; the manchineal, whose fruit, though uncommonly delightful to the eye, contains one of the worst poisons in nature; the mahogany, in such use with our cabinet makers, and of the most valuable quality; but this wood begins to wear out, and of late is very dear. Excellent cedars, of a large size, and durable; the cabbage-tree remarkable for the hardness of its wood, which, when dry, is incorruptible, and hardly yields to any kind of tool; the palma affording oil, much esteemed by the savages, both in food and medicine; the soap-tree, whose berries answer all purposes of washing; the mangrove and olive bark, useful to tanners; the sustic and red wood for dying; and lately the logwood. The cotton tree is also much cultivated. No sort of European grain grows here; they have only maize, or Indian corn, Guinea corn, pease of various kinds, but none of them resembling ours, with variety of roots. Fruits are produced in great abundance; citrons, Seville and China oranges, common and sweet lemons, limes, shadocks, pomegranates, mamees, sourfops, papas, pine-apples, custard apples,

ples; tar-apples, prickly-pears, allcud-pears, melons, pom-pions, guavas, and several kinds of berries; also garden stuffs in great plenty and good. The cattle bred on this island are but few; their beef is tough and lean; the mutton and lamb are tolerable; they have great plenty of hogs; many plantations have hundreds of them, and their flesh is exceedingly sweet and delicate. Their horses are small, mettlesome, and hardy, and often sell for 30 or 40*l.* sterling. Jamaica likewise supplies the apothecary with guaiacum, sarsaparilla, china, cassia, and tamarinds. Among the animals are the land and sea turtle, and the alligator. *Here is a great variety of fowl, wild and tame, and in particular more parrots than in any of the other islands; besides parroquets, pellicans, snipes, teal, Guinea-hens, geese, ducks, and turkies; the humming-bird, and many others. The rivers and bays abound with fish. The mountains breed numberless adders, and other stoxious animals, as the fens and marshes do the guana and gallewasps, but these last are not venomous. Among the insects are the ciror, or chego, which eat into the nervous and membranous parts of the flesh of the negroes, and the white people are sometimes infected with them. These insects get into any part of the body, but chiefly the legs and feet, where they breed in great numbers, and shut themselves up in a bag. As soon as the person feels them, which is not perhaps till a week after they have been in the body, they pick them out with a needle, or the point of a pen-knife, taking care to destroy the bag entirely, that none of the breed, which are like nits, may be left behind. They sometimes get into the toes, and eat the flesh to the very bone\*.*

This island was originally a part of the Spanish empire in America. Several descents had been made upon it by the English, prior to 1656; but it was not till that year that Jamaica was reduced under our dominion. Cromwell had fitted out a squadron, under Penn and Venables, to reduce the Spanish of Hispaniola, but this squadron was unsuccessful. The commanders of their own accord to atone for this misfortune, made a descent on Jamaica, and having carried the capital, St. Jago, soon compelled the whole island to surrender. Ever since it has been subject to the English, and the government of it is one of the richest places, next to that of Ireland, in the disposal of the crown, the standing salary being 2500*l.* per annum, and the assembly commonly voting the governor as much more; which, with other perquisites, make it on the whole little inferior to 10,000*l.* per

\* Sloane.

annum. The government of all the American islands is the same, namely, that kind which has been formerly described under the name of a royal government. Their religion too is universally of the church of England; though they have no bishop, the bishop of London's commissiary being the chief religious magistrate in those parts. About the beginning of this century, it was computed, that the number of whites in Jamaica amounted to sixty thousand, and that of the negroes to one hundred and twenty thousand. It appears, at present, that Jamaica is rather on the decline, as is the number of inhabitants, the whites not exceeding twenty-five thousand and the blacks ninety thousand. Besides these, a number of fugitive negroes, have formed a sort of colony, among the Blue Mountains, independent of the whites, with whom they make treaties, and to whom they send back fugitive slaves.

Indigo was once much cultivated in Jamaica, and enriched the island to such a degree, that in the parish of Vere, where this drug was chiefly cultivated, they are said to have had no less than 300 gentlemen's coaches; a number perhaps the whole island exceeds not at this day; and there is great reason to believe, that there were many more persons of property in Jamaica formerly, than are now, though they had not those vast fortunes which dazzle us in such a manner at present. However, the inhabitants of Jamaica were undoubtedly very numerous, until reduced by earthquakes, and by terrible epidemical diseases, which, treading on the heels of the former calamities, swept away vast multitudes. Among the causes of their decline, the West Indians complain of being deprived of the most beneficial part of their trade, the loss of which they ascribe to the great improvements the French make in their sugar colonies, who are enabled to undersell them, owing to the comparative smallness of their duties. They likewise complain of the trade carried on from Ireland and the northern colonies to the French and Dutch islands, where they pay no duties, and are supplied with goods at an easier rate. Some of these complaints have been heard, and some remedies applied; others remain unredressed. Both the logwood trade and the contraband have been the subject of much contention, and the cause of a war between Great Britain and the Spanish nation. The former we always avowed, and claimed as our right, and at the peace of 1763, it was confirmed to us, the latter was permitted; because we thought, and very justly, that if the Spaniards found themselves aggrieved by any contraband trade, it lay upon them, and not upon us, to put a stop to it, by their guardacostas, which cruise in those seas, purposely to seize and confiscate

fiscate such vessels and cargoes as are found in this trade. In this manner did the British court argue, till the politics of this nation, in compliance with the court of Spain, thought proper to send English cruizers to the American coast, effectually to crush that lucrative trade, of which the whole body of British subjects in America loudly complained, as it put a stop to the principal channel which hitherto enabled them to remit so largely to Great Britain.

Port Royal was formerly the capital of Jamaica. It stood upon the point of a narrow neck of land, which, towards the sea, formed part of the border of a very fine harbour of its own name. The conveniency of this harbour, which was capable of containing a thousand sail of large ships, and of such depth as to allow them to load and unload with the greatest ease, weighed so much with the inhabitants, that they chose to build their capital on this spot, though the place was a hot dry sand, and produced none of the necessaries of life; not even fresh water. But the advantage of its harbour, and the resort of pirates, made it a place of great consideration. About the beginning of the year 1692, no place, for its size, could be compared to this town for trade, wealth, and an entire corruptions of manners. In the month of June, during this year, an earthquake, which shook the whole island to the foundations, totally overwhelmed this city, so as to leave, in one quarter, not even the smallest vestige remaining. In two minutes, the earth opened and swallowed up nine tenths of the houses, and tumbled the people on heaps; but some of them had the good fortune to catch hold of beams and rafters of houses, and were afterwards saved by boats. Several ships were cast away in the harbour; and the Swan frigate, which lay in the dock to careen, was carried over the tops of sinking houses, and did not overset, but afforded a retreat to some hundreds of people, who saved their lives upon her. An officer, who was in the town at this time, says, the earth opened and shut very quick in some places, and he saw several people sink down to the middle, and others appeared with their heads just above ground, and were squeezed to death. At Savannah, above a thousand acres were sunk, with the houses and people in them; the place appearing for some time like a lake, was afterwards dried up, but no houses were seen. In some parts, mountains were split; and at one place a plantation was removed to the distance of a mile. They again rebuilt the city; but, ten years after it was destroyed by a great fire. The extraordinary convenience of the harbour tempted them to build it once more; and once more it was laid in rubbish by A. D. 1722. a hurricane, the most terrible on record. Such

repeated calamities seemed to mark out this place as a devoted spot; the inhabitants therefore resolved to forsake it for ever, and to reside at the opposite bay, where they built Kingston, which is lately become the capital of the island.

Kingston consists of upwards of one thousand houses, of which many are handsomely built, and in the taste of these islands, as well as the neighbouring continent. They are one story high, with porticoes, and every conveniency for a comfortable habitation in that climate. Not far from Kingston, stands St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish town, which though at present inferior to Kingston, was once the capital of Jamaica, and is still the seat of government, and the place where the courts of justice are held.

The whole product of the island may be reduced to these heads. First, sugars, of which they exported, in 1753, twenty thousand three hundred and fifteen hogheads, some of them a ton weight; which cannot be worth less in England than 424,725*l*. Most of this goes to London, Bristol, and Glasgow, and some part of it to North America, in return for the beef, pork, cheese, corn, peas, staves, planks, pitch, and tar, which they have from thence. Secondly, rum, of which they export about four thousand puncheons. The rum of this island is generally esteemed the best, and is the most used in Great Britain. Thirdly, molasses, in which they make a great part of their returns for New England, where there are vast distilleries. All these are the produce of the grand staple, the sugar cane. According to the late testimony of a respectable planter in Jamaica, that island hath two hundred and eighty thousand acres in canes, of which two hundred and ten thousand are commonly cut, and make from sixty-eight to seventy thousand tons of sugar, and four millions two hundred thousand gallons of rum. Fourthly, cotton, of which they send out two thousand bags. The indigo, formerly much cultivated, is now inconsiderable; but some cocoa and coffee are exported, with a considerable quantity of pepper, ginger, drugs for dyers and apothecaries, sweet meats, mahogany, and manchineel planks. But some of the most considerable articles of their trade are with the Spanish continent of New Spain and Terra Firma; for in the former they cut great quantities of logwood, and both in the former and latter they carry on a very profitable trade in negroes, and all kinds of European goods. And even in time of war with Spain, this trade between Jamaica, and the Spanish main goes on, which it will be impossible for Spain entirely to stop, while it is so profitable to the British merchant, and while the Spanish officers, from the highest to the lowest, shew so great a respect to presents properly made. Upon  
the

the whole, many of the people of Jamaica, whilst they appear to live in such a state of luxury, as in most other places leads to beggary, acquire great fortunes. Their equipages, their cloths, their furniture, their tables, all bear the tokens of the greatest wealth and profusion.

On fundays or court time, gentlemen wear wigs and appear very gay in coats of silk, and vests trimmed with silver. At other times they generally wear only thread stockings, linen drawers, a vest, a Holland cap, and a hat upon it. Men servants wear a coarse linen frock, with buttons at the neck and hands, long trowsers of the same, and a check shirt. The negroes, except those who attend gentlemen, who have them dressed in their own livery, have once a year Osna-burghs, and a blanket for clothing, with a cap or handkerchief for the head. The morning habit of the ladies is a loose night-gown, carelessly wrapped about them; before dinner they put off their dishabille, and appear with a good grace in all the advantage of a rich and becoming dress.

The common drink of persons in affluent circumstances is Madeira wine mixed with water. Ale and claret are extravagantly dear. London porter sells for a shilling per bottle. But the general drink, especially among those of an inferior rank, is rum-punch, which they call kill-devil, because, being frequently drank to excess, it heats the blood, and brings on fevers, which, in a few hours, send them to the grave, especially those who are just come to the island, which is the reason that so many die here upon their first arrival. English money is seldom seen here, the current coin being entirely Spanish. There is no place where silver is so plentiful, or has a quicker circulation. You cannot dine for less than a piece of eight, and the common rate of boarding is three pounds per week; though, in the markets, beef, pork, fowl, and fish, may be bought as cheap as in London; but mutton sells at nine pence per pound.

The misery and hardships of the negroes are truly moving; and though great care is taken to make them propagate, the ill treatment they receive so shortens their lives, that instead of increasing by the course of nature, many thousands are annually imported to the West Indies, to supply the place of those who pine and die through hard usage. It is said, they are stubborn and untractable, and that they must be ruled with a rod of iron; but they ought not to be crushed with it, or to be thought inferior creatures; without souls, as some of their masters, or overseers do at present; though some of these tyrants are themselves the dregs of this nation, and the refuse of the jails of Europe. Many of the negroes, however, who fall into the hands of gentlemen of huma-



nity, find their situation easy and comfortable; and it has been observed that in North America and other countries, where in general these poor wretches are better used, there is less waste of negroes, they live longer and propagate better; and it seems clear, from the whole course of history, that those nations who have behaved with the greatest humanity to their slaves, were always best served, and ran the least hazard from their rebellions. The slaves, on their first arrival from the coast of Guinea, are exposed naked to sale; they are then generally very simple and innocent creatures, but they soon become roguish enough; and when they come to be whipped, excuse their faults by the example of the whites. They believe every negro returns to his native country after death. This thought is so agreeable, that it cheers the poor creatures and renders the burden of life easy, which would otherwise, to many of them, be quite intolerable. They look on death as a blessing, and it is surprising to see with what courage and intrepidity some of them meet it. When a negro is about to expire, his fellow slaves kiss him and wish him a good journey, and send their hearty good wishes to their relations in Guinea. They make no lamentations, but with a great deal of joy inter his body, believing he is gone and happy.—When will the voice of humanity be properly attended to, and the opprobrium of cultivated nations cease!

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the Buccaneers.*

**B**EFORE the English had made any settlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by the name of *Buccaneers*, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga; and, fortifying themselves there, had, with amazing intrepidity, made excursions against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was their only armament. Here they were exposed, night and day, to all the inclemency of the weather, without having scarce room enough to lie down. A love of independence, the greatest blessing to those who are not proprietors

proprietors of land, rendered them averse to those mutual restraints which the members of society impose upon themselves for the common good; some of them chose to sing, while others were desirous of going to sleep. As the authority they had conferred on their captain was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest confusion. Like the savages, having no apprehension of want, nor any care to preserve the necessaries of life, they were constantly exposed to the severest extremities of hunger and thirst; but deriving, even from their very distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a ship transported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their custom to board the ship as soon as possible. The smallness of their vessels, and the skill they shewed in the management of them, screened them from the fire of the greater ships; and they presented only the fore-parts, of their little vessels filled with fusileers; who fired at the port-holes with so much exactness, that it entirely confounded the most experienced gunners. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the largest vessels seldom escaped them. In cases of extreme necessity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the inhabitants of the New World, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn against them. But this was heightened by a personal pique, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such were their principles of justice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to heaven for the success of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory. The ships that sailed from Europe into America seldom tempted their avidity. The merchandise they contained would not easily have been sold, nor been very profitable to these barbarians in those early times. They always waited for them on their return, when they were certain that they were laden with gold, silver, jewels, and all the valuable productions of the New World. If they met with a single ship, they never failed to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed them, till they sailed out of the gulf of Bahama; and as soon as any one of the vessels was separated by accident from the rest, it was taken. The Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediately surrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo was a rich one, if not, all the prisoners were thrown into the sea.

When the Buccaneers had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil; but afterwards the English went to Jamaica, and the French to St. Domingo. Each person, holding up his hand, solemnly protested that he had secreted nothing of what he had taken. If any among them was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a traitor unworthy to live in society. Such brave men among them as had been maimed in any of their expeditions, were first provided for; and the remainder of the booty was divided into as many shares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a single share like the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted himself to their satisfaction. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out, and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was determined by lot. Instances of such rigid justice as this, are not easily met with; and they extended even to the dead \*. Their share was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive. If the person who had been killed had no intimate, his part was sent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor, and to churches, in which prayers were to be offered up for the person in whose name their benefactions were given.

When these duties had been complied with, they then indulged themselves in all kinds of profusion. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, and every kind of sensual indulgence was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such irregularities brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of clothes and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If they were asked what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty; they made this very ingenious reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we have lived, but never

\* Universal History.

"think on that which is to come. Our concern is rather  
"to squander life away than to preserve it."

The Spanish colonies flattering themselves with the hopes of seeing an end to their miseries, and reduced almost to despair, in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniencies, and fortune their connexions procured them, and formed themselves almost into so many distinct and separate states. They were sensible of the inconveniencies arising from such a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and savage men, had greater influence over them than the dictates of honour, interest, and policy. Such was the rise of that spirit of inactivity, which continues to this time. This despondency served only to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared on the Spanish settlements, in order to carry off some provisions, when they were in want of them. They no sooner found the captures began to diminish, than they determined to recover by land what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads than fall in the latitudes which belonged to them.

Among the Buccaneers who signalized themselves in this extraordinary species of excursions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the conquest of the New World, he conceived an aversion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy against the nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the person who personated the Spaniard, with such fury, that he would have strangled him, had he not been rescued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of people massacred by savage monsters who came out of Spain. He was animated by an irresistible ardour to revenge so much innocent blood. The enthusiasm this spirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than that of religious fanaticism, to which so many victims had been sacrificed. The names of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard some account of the Buccaneers, who were said

to be the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish name: he therefore embarked on board a ship in order to join them.

In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel, attacked it, and, as it was usual in those times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, leaving to his companions the happiness of dividing so rich a booty, he contented himself with the savage pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, against whom he had sworn a constant and deadly hatred. Fresh opportunities soon occurred, which enabled him to exert the spirit of revenge, without extinguishing it. The ship he was in arrived at the coast of St. Domingo; where the Buccaneers on land immediately applied to barter some provisions for brandy. As the articles they offered were of little value, they alledged an excuse, that their enemies had over-run the country, laid waste their settlements, and carried off all they could. "Why," replied Montbar, "do you tamely suffer such insults?"—"Neither do we, (answered they in the same tone); "the Spaniards, have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time when we were engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been still more ill treated than we, and then we shall have warm work."—"If you approve it (answered Montbar) I will heed you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was such a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Scarce one Spaniard escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally distinguished as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by land and sea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

Mean while Morgan, the most renowned of the English Buccaneers, sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello. His plan of operations was so well contrived, that he surprised the city, and took it without opposition. In order to secure the fort with the same facility, he compelled the women and the priests to fix the scaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered as the objects of their love and reverence.

rence. But the garrison was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be subdued by force of arms; the treasures that were carried away from this famous port, were acquired at the expence of much blood-shed. The conquest of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To secure this, Morgan thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of Costa-Ricca, to procure some guides in the island of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have held out for ten years against a considerable army. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on the first appearance of the pirates, sent privately to concert measures how he might surrender himself without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The result of this consultation was, that Morgan, in the night time, should attack a fort at some distance, and the governor should sally out at the citadel, to defend a post of so much consequence; that the assailants should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a smart firing should be kept up on both sides, without doing mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally demolished the fortifications, and put on board their vessels a prodigious quantity of war-like ammunition, which they found at St. Catherine's, steered their course towards the river Chagse, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at that place which was the object of their utmost wishes. At the entrance of this considerable river a fort was built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The Buccaneers, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance: it was a doubtful point whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire. The besiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

Morgan left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his sloops for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded, by land, to Panama,

Panama, which was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city that was now abandoned. Here were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests were also found several rich deposits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were making excursions into the country, little satisfied with this booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, negroes, and Indians they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their master's riches. A beggar accidentally going into a castle, which had been deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man shewed them the ragged cloaths he had just thown off. He was instantly tortured, but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasures the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner. In the midst of such scenes of horror\*, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved, therefore, to subdue by force the Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. Stop, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness out of his arms, *Stop; thinkest thou then, that thou canst rob me of my honour from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out from under her gown a poniard, which she would have plunged into his heart had not he avoided the blow. But Morgan, still inflamed with a passion, which this determined resistance had turned into madness, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to subdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immovably resolute, excited, at the same time that she resisted the frantic behaviour of Morgan; till at the last the pirates, expressing their resentment, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then

set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty. Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city that served as the staple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This instance of treachery, unheard of before, occasioned a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which they had been disappointed. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, where they made several expeditions. But they were all trifling, till, in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greatest consequence.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him suffer the least signs of cowardice among his associates. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrunk at the sudden report of a pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by a so truly warlike disposition. When he went upon these expeditions, he generally sailed in a frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonque, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits; and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they; twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz. The darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at the distance of three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in short, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by the break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection. While the city was kept in such terror, it was easily



sly pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties by a contribution of ten millions of livres. These unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drank for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day; the other part was expected from the internal parts of the country; where there appeared on an eminence a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe." At the sight of this armament the Buccaneers, without any marks of surprise, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred slaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These russians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coasts where they made a descent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of these contributions they compelled the inhabitants to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the interest of that part of the sum which was not yet paid. Their retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, which let them pass without firing a single gun; and were in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and with no other inconvenience, but what arose from their fears, if the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with silver, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted with any other effects but such articles as were little valued by these pirates.

As the Spaniards generally fled at the approach of these terrible beings, they knew of no other method of revenging themselves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As soon as these adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture, which would have been practised upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever. This rage, equally impotent and childish, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town,

town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum, proportioned to its value, was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by the governor or some of the inhabitants. Gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troublesome to them. The chances of fortune, that seldom leaves guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for its suffering, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the New World, and the Indians were amply revenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that those who committed such outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress, or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the streights of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the northern sea by land, fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

The Buccaneers would have conquered all America, if conquest and not piracy had been the motive of their actions. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of that age in which they lived, as they will be also of posterity. England, France, and Holland had sent at different times considerable fleets into the New World. The unwholesomeness of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul, which enables us to undertake and execute every thing. It produced that vigour, and that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strengths, the

the best regulated governments, the most honourable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want. The earth they trod upon offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have squandered away in a day the spoils acquired in a whole campaign! As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore sacrifice themselves in its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. Neither could a spirit of indolence and care, ever make men rush into constant fatigues, and submit to the greatest dangers. "If we are desirous," says an eloquent historian, "of tracing the origin of this revolution, we may perceive that it arises from the Buccaneers having lived under the shackles of European governments. The spirit of liberty being repressed for so many ages, exerted its power to a degree almost inconceivable, and occasioned the most terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral world. Restless and enthusiastic men of every nation joined themselves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard of the success they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea and desire excited by distant objects, the want of a change in situation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulse which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which easily induces men to imitation, the necessity of getting the better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have frequently associated together; in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with several accidental circumstances, had raised in the mind of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress, at one time stained with blood, at another plunged into voluptuousness, rendered the Buccaneers a people wholly distinct in history; but a people whose duration was so transient, that its glory lasted, as it were, but a moment \*."

We are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve; as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness and generosity,

\* Abbé Raynal.

they

they shewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be struck with a variety of brave and noble actions, that which have reflected honour on the most virtuous people. Some Buccaneers had agreed for a certain sum to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. The famous Mountauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. "What!" replied these brave men, "would you then leave us? Is there any one who approves of the treachery that you abhor?" A council was immediately held; and it was determined that the guilty person should be thrown upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this is not to be looked upon as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

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## CHAP. XII.

### *Of Barbadoes, and other British Islands in the West Indies.*

**W**HEN the English first landed on the island of Barbadoes, they found it the most savage and destitute place they had hitherto visited. It A. D. 1627. had not the least appearance of ever having been peopled even by the savages. There were no beasts of pasture, or of prey, no fruit, no herb, no root, fit for supporting the life of man. Yet as the climate was so good, and the soil appeared fertile, some gentlemen of small fortunes in England resolved to become adventurers thither. The trees were so large, and of a wood so hard and stubborn, that it was with great difficulty they could clear as much ground as was necessary for their subsistence. By unremitting perseverance, however, they brought it to

yield them a tolerable support; and they found that cotton and indigo agreed well with the soil, and that tobacco, which was beginning to come into repute in England, answered tolerably. These prospects, together with the storm between the king and parliament, which was beginning to break out in England, induced many new adventurers to transport themselves to this island. And what is extremely remarkable, so great was the increase of people in Barbadoes, twenty-five years after its first settlement, that in 1650, it contained more than 50,000 whites, and a much greater number of negro and Indian slaves; the latter they acquired by means not at all to their honour; for they seized upon all those unhappy men, without any pretence, in the neighbouring islands, and carried them into slavery. — a practice which has rendered the Caribbee Indians irreconcilable to us ever since. They had begun, a little before this, to cultivate sugar, which soon rendered them extremely wealthy. The number of the slaves therefore was still augmented; and in 1676, it is supposed that their number amounted to 100,000, which, together with 50,000 whites, make 150,000 on this small spot; a degree of population unknown in Holland, China, or any other part of the World most renowned for numbers. At this time Barbadoes employed 400 sail of ships, one with another of 150 tons, in their trade. Their annual exports in sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, and citron water, were above 350,000*l.* and their circulating cash at home was 200,000*l.* Such was the increase of population, trade, and wealth, in the course of fifty years. But since that time, this island has been much on the decline, which is to be attributed partly to the growth of the French sugar colonies, and partly to our own establishments in the neighbouring isles. Their numbers at present are said to be 20,000 whites, and 100,000 slaves. Their commerce consists in the same articles as formerly, though they deal in them to less extent. Their capital is Bridgetown, where the governor resides, whose employment is said to be worth 5000*l.* per annum. They have a college founded and well endowed by colonel Codrington, who was a native of this island. Barbadoes, as well as Jamaica, has suffered much by hurricanes, fires, and the plague. On the 10th of October 1780, a dreadful hurricane occasioned vast devastation in Barbadoes, great numbers of the houses were destroyed, not one house in the island was wholly free from damage, many persons were buried in the ruins of the buildings, and great numbers were driven into the sea, and there perished.

Barbadoes

Barbadoes is twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth. It is one of those islands which, since the discovery of the New World, are known by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the east, have been called the Windward islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the wind blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent, near the gulf of Maracabo; the other, to close the entrance of the gulf of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of probability, be considered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, which have been changed into islands by some revolution that has laid the flat country under water. All the islands of the world seem to have been detached from the continent by subterraneous fires or earthquakes\*. The celebrated Atlantica, whose very name would some thousand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not been transmitted down to us by a celebrated philosopher †, from the obscure tradition of Egyptian priests, was probably a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily has evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd Islands, the Azores, Maderia, and the Canaries must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt that all the islands of the South Sea formerly composed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largest of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguished volcanoes. Its inhabitants are neither beardless nor copper-coloured as those of America; and though they are separated six hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they speak the same language as the natives of the island of Otaheite.

Indisputable monuments evince that such changes have happened, of which the attentive naturalist every where discovers some traces still remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels and on the surfaces of mountains; the variableness of the continent subject to all the changes of the ocean by which it is constantly beaten, worn away, or subverted; while at a distance, perhaps, on one side it loses immense tracts of land, on the other discovers to us new countries, and long banks of sand heaped

Abbé Raynal. † Plato.

was taken by the French in 1778, but was restored again to Great Britain by the late peace.

*St. Vincent*, which is fifty miles north-west of Barbadoes, and thirty miles south of *St. Lucia*, is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth. It is extremely fruitful, being a black mould upon a strong loam, the most proper for the raising of sugar. Indigo thrives here remarkably well; but this article is less cultivated than formerly throughout the West Indies. Many of the inhabitants are Caribbeans, and there are many fugitives from Barbadoes and the other islands. The Caribbeans are said to have been treated with so much injustice and barbarity, after this island came into possession of the English, to whom it was ceded by the peace in 1763, that they greatly contributed towards enabling the French to get possession of it again in 1779; but it was restored to Great Britain by the late treaty of peace.

*Granada* is about thirty leagues south-west of Barbadoes, and almost the same distance north of New Andalusia, or the Spanish Main. This island is said to be thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. Experience has proved, that the soil is extremely proper for producing sugar, coffee, tobacco, and indigo; and, upon the whole, it carries with it all the appearance of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the West Indies, of its dimensions. A lake on the top of a hill, in the middle of the island, supplies it plentifully with fine rivers, which fertilize it. Several bays and harbours lie round the island, some of which may be fortified to great advantage, which renders it very convenient for shipping; and it is not subject to hurricanes. *St. George's Bay* has a sandy bottom, and is extremely capacious, but open. In its harbour, or careening place, one hundred large vessels may be moored with perfect safety. This island was long the theatre of bloody wars between the native Indians and the French, during which this handful of Caribbees defended themselves with the most resolute bravery. In the last war but one, when *Granada* was attacked by the English, the French inhabitants, who were not numerous, were so amazed at the reduction of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico*, that they lost all spirit, and surrendered without making the least opposition; and the full property of this island, together with the small islands on the north, called the *Granadines*, which yield the same produce, were confirmed to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of *Paris* in 1763. In July, 1779, the French made themselves master of this island, which was restored to Great Britain by the late treaty of peace.

Exclusive

Exclusive of the West India sugar islands lying between the two continents of America, Great Britain claims some others, at the distance of some thousand miles from each other, upon the coast of this quarter of the globe.

*Newfoundland*, situated to the east of the gulf of St. Lawrence, is separated from Labrador, or New Britain, by the straits of Belleisle, and from Canada, by the bay of St. Lawrence, being 350 miles long, and 200 broad. The coasts are extremely subject to fogs, attended with almost continual storms of snow and sleet, the sky being usually overcast. From the soil of this island, which is rocky and barren, we are far from reaping any sudden or great advantage, for the cold is long continued and severe; and the summer heat, though violent, warms it not enough to produce any thing valuable. However, it is watered by several good rivers, and hath many large and good harbours. This island, whenever the continent shall come to fail of timber (which on the sea-coast is perhaps no very remote prospect) will afford a large supply for masts, yards, and all sorts of lumber for the West India trade. But what at present it is chiefly valuable for, is the great fishery of cod, carried on upon those shoals which are called the Banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain and North America, at the lowest computation, annually employ 3000 sail of small craft in this fishery; on board of which, and on shore, to cure and pack the fish, are upwards of 10,000 hands; so that this fishery is not only a very valuable branch of trade to the merchant, but a source of livelihood to many thousands of poor people, and a most excellent nursery for the royal navy. This fishery is computed to increase the national stock 300,000*l.* a year in gold and silver, remitted to us for the cod we sell in the north, in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Levant. The plenty of cod, both on the great bank and the lesser ones, which lie to the east and south-east of this island, is inconceivable; and not only cod, but several other species of fish are caught there in abundance; all of which are nearly in an equal plenty along the shores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, and the isle of Cape Breton; so that where our colonies are thinly peopled, or so barren as not to produce any thing from their soil, their coasts make us ample amends, and pour in upon us a wealth of another kind, and no where inferior to that arising from the most fertile soil. This island, after various disputes about the property, was entirely ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713; but the French were left at liberty to dry their nets on its northern shores; and by the treaty of 1763, they were permitted to fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence,



but with this limitation, that they should not approach within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to England. The small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, situated to the southward of Newfoundland, were also ceded to the French, who stipulated to erect no fortifications on them, nor to keep more than fifty soldiers to enforce the police. By the last treaty of peace, the French are to enjoy the fisheries on the north and the west coasts of the island; and the Americans are allowed the same privileges in fishing as before their independence. The chief towns in Newfoundland are Placentia, Bonavista, and St. John: but not above 1000 families remain here in the winter. A small squadron of men of war are sent out every spring to protect the fisheries and inhabitants, the commander of which is governor of the island.

*Cape Breton*, situated between Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, is, in length, about 110 miles. The soil is barren, but it has good harbours, particularly that of Louisburgh, which is near four leagues in circumference, and has every where six or seven fathoms water. The French began a settlement in this island, in 1714, which they continued to increase, and fortified it in 1720. They were, however, dispossessed in 1745, by the inhabitants of New England, with little assistance from Great Britain: but it was again, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ceded to the French, who spared no expence to fortify and strengthen it. Notwithstanding which, it was again reduced, in 1758, by the British troops under general Amherst and admiral Boscawen, together with a large body of New England men, who found in that place two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, together with a large quantity of ammunition and stores; and it was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, by the peace of 1763; since which the fortifications have been blown up, and the towns of Louisburgh dismantled.

*St. John's*, situated in the gulf of St. Lawrence, is about sixty miles in length, and thirty or forty broad, has many fine rivers, and though lying near Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, has greatly the advantage of both in pleasantness and fertility of soil. Upon the reduction of Cape Breton, the inhabitants of this island, amounting to 4000, submitted quietly to the British arms; and, to the disgrace of the French governor, there were found in his house several English scalps, which were brought there to market by the savages of Nova Scotia; this being the place where they were encouraged to carry on that barbarous and inhuman trade. The island was so well improved by the French,

that

that it was styled the granary of Canada, which it furnished with great plenty of corn, as well as of beef and pork.

*The Bermudas, or Summer Islands*, received their name from their being first discovered by John Bermudas, a Spaniard; and were called the Summer Islands, from Sir George Summers, who was shipwrecked on their rocks in 1609, in his passage to Virginia. They are situated at a vast distance from any continent, in 32 deg. north latitude, and in 65 deg. west longitude. Their distance from the land's end is computed to be near 1500 leagues, from the Madeira about 1200, and from Carolina 300. The Bermudas are but small, not containing in all above 20,000 acres; and are very difficult of access, being, as Waller the poet, who resided some time there, expressed it, "walled with rocks\*." The air of these islands, which Waller celebrates in one of his poems, has been always esteemed extremely healthful; and the beauty and richness of the vegetable productions are delightful. Though the soil of these islands is admirably adapted to the cultivation of the vine, the chief and only business of the inhabitants, who consist of about 10,000, is the building and navigating of the light sloops and brigantines, which they employ chiefly in the trade between North America and the West Indies. These vessels are remarkable for their swiftness; as the cedar of which they are built, is for its hard and durable quality. The town of St. George, which is the capital, is seated at the bottom of a haven in the island of the same name, and is defended with seven or eight forts, and seventy pieces of cannon. It contains above 1000 houses, a handsome church, and other elegant public buildings.

*Lucay's or Bahama Islands* are situated to the south of Carolina. They extend along the coast of Florida quite down to the isle of Cuba, and are said to be five-hundred in number, some of which are only mere rocks; but twelve of them are large, fertile, and in nothing different from the soil of Carolina: all are, however, uninhabited, except Providence, which is two hundred miles east of the Floridas; though some others are larger and more fertile, on which the English have plantations. Between them and the continent of Florida is the gulf of Bahama, or Florida, through which the Spanish galleons sail in their passage to Europe. These islands were the first fruits of Columbus's discoveries; but they were not known to the English till 1667, when captain Seyle, being driven among them in his passage to Carolina gave his name to one of them; and being a second time driven upon it, gave it the name of Providence. The English, observing the advantageous situation

\* Waller's Poems.

of these islands, as a check on the French and Spaniards, attempted to settle them in the reign of Charles II. Some unlucky accidents prevented this settlement from being of any advantage; and the isle of Providence became an harbour for the Buccaneers, or pirates, who for a long time infested the American navigation. This obliged A.D. 1718. the government to send out captain Woods Rogers, with a fleet to dislodge the pirates, and to make a settlement. This the captain effected; a fort was erected, and an independent company was stationed in the island. Ever since this last settlement, these islands have been improving, though they advance but slowly. In time of war people gain considerably by the prizes condemned there; and, at all times, by the wrecks, which are frequent in this labyrinth of rocks and shelves. The Spaniards and Americans captured these islands during the last war, but they were retaken by a detachment from St. Augustine, April 7, 1783.

*Falkland Islands* are situated near the straits of Magellan, at the utmost extremity of south America. King Charles II. of England thought the discovery of this coast of such consequence, that sir John Narborough was purposely sent out to survey the straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coast of Patagonia, and the Spanish ports in that neighbourhood; with directions, if possible, to procure some intercourse with the Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at least on ill terms, with the Spaniards; and to establish a commerce and lasting correspondence with them. Though sir John, through accidental causes, failed in his attempt, which, in appearance, promised many advantages to this nation, his transactions upon that coast, besides the many valuable improvements he furnished to geography and navigation, are rather an encouragement for farther trials of this kind, than any objection against them. It appeared by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences. It is said, that his majesty Charles II. was so far prepossessed with the belief of the emoluments which might redound to the public from this expedition, and was so eager to be informed of the event of it, that having intelligence of sir John Narborough's passing through the Downs, on his return, he had no patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himself in his barge to Gravesend to meet him. "As therefore it appears," says a judicious writer, "that all our future expeditions to the south seas must run a considerable risk of proving abortive, whilst in our passage thither we are under the necessity of touching at the Portuguese settlement

" of

“ of Brazil, the discovery of some place more to the south-  
 “ ward, where ships might refresh, and supply themselves  
 “ with the necessary sea stock for their voyage round Cape  
 “ Horn, would be an expedient that would relieve us from  
 “ these embarrassments, and would surely be a matter wor-  
 “ thy the attention of the public. Nor does this seem dif-  
 “ ficult to be effected; for we have already the imperfect  
 “ knowledge of two places, which might, perhaps, on exa-  
 “ mination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose;  
 “ one of them is Pepys’ island, in the latitude of 47 south,  
 “ and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the  
 “ eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the  
 “ other is *Falkland Isles*, in the latitude of 51 and a half, ly-  
 “ ing nearly south of Pepys’ island. The last of these have  
 “ been seen by many ships, both French and English,  
 “ Woods Rogers, who ran along the north-east coast of  
 “ these isles in the year 1708, tells us that they extended  
 “ about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle des-  
 “ cents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, in-  
 “ terspersed with woods, and not destitute of harbours.  
 “ Either of these places, as they are islands at a considerable  
 “ distance from the continent, may be supposed, from their  
 “ latitude to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. This,  
 “ even in time of peace, might be of great consequence to  
 “ this nation; and, in time of war, would make us masters  
 “ of those seas\*.”

Falkland islands were first discovered by sir  
 Richard Hawkins; the principal of which he A. D. 1594,  
 named Hawkins’ Maidenland, in honour of  
 queen Elizabeth. The present English name Falkland was  
 probably given them by captain Strong, in 1689, and being  
 adopted by Halley, it has from that time been generally re-  
 ceived. In the year 1764, the late lord Egmont, then first  
 lord of the admiralty, revived the scheme of a settlement in  
 the south seas, and commodore Byron was sent to take  
 possession of Falkland islands in the name of his Britannic  
 majesty; and, in his journal, represents them as a valuable  
 acquisition. On the other hand, they are represented by  
 captain Mc Bride, who, in 1766, succeeded that gentleman,  
 as the outcasts of nature. “We found,” says he, “a mass of  
 islands and broken lands of which the soil was nothing but a  
 bog, with no better prospect than that of barren mountains,  
 beaten by storms almost perpetual. Yet this is summer;  
 and if the winds of winter hold their natural proportion,  
 those who lie but two cables length from the shore, must

pass weeks without any communication with it." The plants and vegetables which were planted by Mr. Byron's people, and the fir-trees, natives of ragged and cold climates, had withered away; but goats, sheep, and hogs, that were carried thither, were found to thrive and increase as in other places. Geese of a fishy taste, snipes, foxes, sea-lions, penguins, plenty of good water, and, in the summer months, wild celery and sorrel, are the natural luxuries of those islands.

But though the soil be barren, and the sea tempestuous, an English settlement was made here, of which we were dispossessed by the Spaniards in 1770. That measure was, however, disavowed by the Spanish ambassador, and some concessions were made to the court of Great Britain; but the settlement was finally abandoned in 1774, in order to avoid giving umbrage to the court of Spain.

### C H A P. XIII.

#### *Of Brazil, belonging to the Portuguese.*

**B**RAZIL is an immense continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the south by Paraguay, on the west by a long ridge of mountains that divide it from Peru, and on the east by the northern ocean. The extent of the sea-coast is supposed to be no less than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to enable us to form any estimate of their extent. A succession of hills runs all along from north to south, from whence issue many large rivers, some of which fall into the ocean, and some into the Plata. If Columbus, in his third voyage, had continued his course to the south, when he came to the entrance of the Orinoco, he could not possibly have missed the Brazils; but he chose to steer to the north-west, towards the gulf that lies between that river and Florida. The settlements already made there, the gold they produced, and the hopes of finding a way to the East Indies, were so many inducements to pursue that track. *Peter Alvarez Cabral* had the honour of discovering the Brazils the following year by chance. This Portuguese admiral was going

going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, he kept so far out at sea, that he came within sight of an unknown land lying to the westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who used it in dying.

As this country had been discovered in going to India, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that, it was at first comprised under the same general title, but was distinguished by the appellation of West Indies, because the Portuguese went to India by the east, and to the Brazils by the west. This name was afterwards given to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians. Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philosophers, who have been desirous of tracing the origin of these names from nature, and not from circumstances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them.

Europeans have often made a very improper use of their discoveries in America. As soon as the court of Lisbon had ordered a survey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers and coasts of Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor silver, they held it in such contempt that they sent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women. Two ships were sent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and wood for the dyers and cabinet makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was soon prohibited lest it should interfere with the sale of the same article from India. Asia was then the object that attracted all men. It was the road to fortune, to power and to fame. The great exploits of the Portuguese in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wished to partake of it. The enthusiasm was general. No person, indeed, went out voluntarily to America, but those unfortunate men, whom the inquisition had doomed to destruction, were added to the convicts already transported thither.

There never was a stronger and more inveterate hatred, than that which the Portuguese have always entertained against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this national antipathy,

pathy, which is of so long a standing, that its origin cannot be traced, and so confirmed that it can never be expected to cease, they have borrowed most of their maxims from a neighbour, whose power they dreaded as much as they detested its manners. Whether from a similarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumstances, they have adopted the worst of its institutions. They could not imitate any one more horrid than the *inquisition*.

A. D. 1482. This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain by a combination of policy and fanaticism, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was no sooner adopted by John III. than it struck terror into every family. To establish its authority, and afterwards to support it, no less than four or five hundred victims were annually sacrificed, some of whom were burnt alive, and the rest banished to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against sorcerers, who, in those times of ignorance, were as much dreaded as their number was multiplied by the credulity, bigotry, and barbarism that prevailed all over Europe. The Mahometans, though greatly decreased since they had lost the empire, were also persecuted by the *inquisition*; but more especially the Jews, because they were the richest. It is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very small spot upon the face of the earth, were dispersed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were suffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had received its independence. This first act of oppression did not prevent twenty thousand Jewish families from removing thither, when after the conquest of Granada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid seventeen shillings for the liberty of settling in Portugal; superstition soon induced John II. to aggravate the sufferings of that persecuted nation; he demanded of them 20,000 crowns, and afterwards reduced them to a state of slavery. In 1496, Emanuel banished all those who refused to embrace the Christian religion; those who complied were restored to their freedom, and soon engrossed the Asiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The establishment of the *inquisition* in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their mistrust was increased by the frequent confiscations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchasing some tranquillity, by furnishing Sebastian with money for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them,

them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II. who soon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that such of his subjects as were descended from a Jew or a Moor, should be excluded from all ecclesiastical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Christianity were branded, gave them such a disgust for a country, where even the greatest opulence could not exempt them from being stigmatized, that they removed with their wealth to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburg, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occasion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived those two nations of the advantages the one derived from the East, and the other from the West Indies.

Before these last periods, the Jews who had been stripped of their property by the inquisition, and banished to the Brazils, were not yet entirely forsaken. Many of them found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be men of probity and understanding, obtained money in advance from merchants of different nations with whom they had formerly had transactions. By this assistance, some enterprising men among them were enabled to cultivate sugar-canes, which they first procured from the island of Madeira.

Sugar, which till then on account of its scarcity had been used only in medicine, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themselves this new species of indulgence. This circumstance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to extend its sugar plantations. The court of Lisbon, notwithstanding its prejudices, began to be sensible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or silver. It now looked with less contempt on an immense region that chance had thrown in its way, and which it had always considered as a place fit only to contain the refuge of the kingdom. This settlement, which had been wholly left to the capricious management of the colonists, was now thought to deserve some kind of attention, and accordingly

Thomas de Seufa was sent thither to regulate A. D. 1549. and superintend it. This able governor began by reducing these men, who had always lived in a state of anarchy, into proper subordination, and bringing their scattered plantations closer together; after which he applied himself to acquire more information respecting the natives, with whom he knew he must be incessantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no easy matter to accomplish this.

Brazil



Brazil was full of small nations, some of which inhabited the forests, and others lived in the plains and along the rivers. Some had settled habitations, but a greater number led a roving life. *Most of them had no intercourse with each other. Those that were not divided by incessant wars, were so by hereditary hatred and jealousy.* Some lived by hunting and fishing, others by agriculture. All these causes must have produced a visible difference in the employments and customs of these several nations; yet their general character was very similar.

The Brazilians in general are of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. They are subject to fewer distempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to see men live upwards of a *hundred years*. Formerly, they wore no clothing, but since the Europeans have become acquainted with them, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from those of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the women cut theirs quite short; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies. In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very simple. It might have been expected to have been more varied, when they came to be acquainted with our domestic animals; yet those who live by the sea-side still continue to feed upon the shell-fish they pick up on the shore. Along the rivers they always live by fishing, and in the forests by hunting. When these precarious provisions fail, they feed upon roots, which either grow spontaneously, or require but little culture. These savages are averse to all labour, and pass their time in idleness, eating, and dancing. Their songs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

The Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and, like most other savages, shew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states; which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its disposition, customs, and taste—this love of our country is but an adventitious sentiment arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature\*. The moral life of the savage is the very reverse of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding unfolds itself, he loses sight

of the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, the time destined by nature for enjoyment, is spent in speculation and disappointment. The heart denies itself what it wishes for, laments the indulgences it has allowed itself, and is equally tormented by its self-denials and its gratifications. The civilized man, incessantly deploring his liberty which he has always sacrificed, looks back with regret on his earliest years, when a succession of new objects constantly awakened his curiosity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects, with pleasure, the spot where he passed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot; whereas the savage, who enjoys all the pleasures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abstain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally in all places objects suited to his desires, and feels that the source of his pleasures is in himself, and that his country is every where.

Though the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the result of any laws, dissensions are seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, or some unfortunate incident should occasion a dispute, and any life should be lost, the murderer is instantly delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who immediately sacrifice him to their vengeance without hesitation; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is sealed by a joyous and noisy feast. Travellers are received with distinguished marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they come they are surrounded with women, who wash their feet and welcome them with the most obliging expressions. Nothing is spared for their entertainment; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they are first entertained, in hopes of a better accommodation in another. This spirit of hospitality is one of the most certain indications that man was intended for society; it is the most valuable disposition of the savage nations; and the point where the improvement of policy, and of all social institutions ought, perhaps, to rest. The Brazilians assist one another in sickness with more than brotherly kindness and affection. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and sucks it, and performs every office of humanity with the same readiness. They do not neglect the use of the healing plants that grow in their forests; but they trust more to abstinence than to medicine, and never allow their sick to taste any food. Far from shewing that indifference or weakness which makes us shun the dead, and

makes us unwilling to speak of them, or to remain in the places that might recal their image to our minds, these savages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with transport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceased was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the sake of changing, every family fixes some remarkable stones over the graves of their most respectable relations, and they never approach those monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the shouts with which they make the air resound when they are going to battle.

Motives of interest or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to war. The desire of avenging their relations, or friends, has always been the occasion of their most sanguinary contests. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hostilities, give the signal for marching, and exert themselves during the march, in repeated expressions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is suspended to listen to these passionate harangues, that last for many hours. This custom makes those long speeches we meet with in Homer and in the Roman historians appear more probable; but, in those days, the noise of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals. The combatants are armed with a club of ebony six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the same wood. Their instruments of martial music are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are equally calculated to inspire courage, as our drums, which stifle our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal, and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the soldiers who have distinguished themselves most in former wars. When the aggression arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the provisions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themselves at some distance from the habitations, that they may have the advantage of surprising their enemies. When it is dark, they set fire to the huts, and avail themselves of the confusion which this occasions, to satisfy their fury that knows no bounds. Those who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons, and lie in ambush. If they are discovered and routed by superior forces, they hide themselves in

in the deepest recesses of the woods. Their courage seldom consists in maintaining their ground.

The Brazilians have but very faint ideas of a Supreme Being, or a future state of rewards and punishments. They have, however, magicians, who, by strange contortions, so far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulsions. If the impostures of these magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which serves in some degree to check the spirit of deceit. They are strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which, among ourselves, are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive how any person can have the audacity to command, much less how any one can be so weak as to obey. But they shew most deference to the man who has killed the greatest number of his enemies. They have no words to convey *general* and *abstract* ideas. This poverty of language, which is common to all the nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding has made in these countries. The analogy between the words in the several languages of this continent shews that the reciprocal transigrations of these savages have been frequent. By a comparison of their languages with those of Africa, of the East Indies, and of Europe, the origin of the different tribes of Americans may, perhaps, be traced.

In the beginning of this century the discovery of the gold mines gave this colony an additional lustre that occasioned universal astonishment. The circumstances that produced this discovery are variously related. The most common opinion is, that a caravan of Portuguese, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent. They met with the Paulists, who, in exchange for A.D. 1695. some European goods, gave them gold dust which they found was procured from the mines of Panama situated in that neighbourhood. A few years after this a company of soldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were sent to quell some Indians in the inland parts, found in their march some gold fish-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, rushing down from the mountains, brought gold into the valleys. Upon this information a strict search was made, and upon the high grounds were found some rocks that contained gold; but this deceitful appearance of treasure was neglected on account of the expence it would have required to get at it; nor was a vein of gold, which runs along an immense space, found rich enough to answer the working of it. After many fruitless trials

the Portuguese contented themselves like the savages, with picking up gold out of the sand, when the waters had subsided. This practice had proved very successful at Villarrica, and through a very considerable extent of country. The government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious soil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there. Some blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and separating it from the sand and mud, in which it is naturally concealed. The most usual custom is, that every slave is required to bring in the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day; and if any of them are so fortunate, or so diligent as to pick up more, the overplus is their own property. The first use they make of it, is to buy other slaves to do their work for them, that they, in their turn, may live in idleness. If a slave brings in the quantity of gold prescribed, his master can require nothing more. It is some consolation to him to be able to alleviate the burden of his slavery, by the very labours that are attached to that state.

If we were to estimate the quantity of gold that Brazil annually supplies, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives from thence, it might be valued at near two millions of pounds; but we shall not be supposed to exaggerate, when we assert that the desire of eluding the duties deprives the government, notwithstanding its vigilance, of the eighth part of the produce: To this account must be added the silver drawn from the illicit trade with Buenos Ayres, which was formerly immense; but the measures lately taken by Spain, have reduced it to 130,000*l.* per annum. Many people are even surprised that such intercourse should subsist between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and imposing nearly the same taxes on all foreign industry, ought certainly to have nothing to sell. It is now considered that the coast of Portugal is very extensive, and accessible in all parts, so that the duties exported to America, may be eluded with much greater facility on that coast, than in the peninsula of Cadiz. Besides, exchanges are not the only means by which the Spanish specie is conveyed into the Portuguese coffers. Independent of all sale or purchase, the Peruvians find a great advantage in sending their money over to Europe by this indirect road. The first political writers who turned their thoughts towards the probable consequences of the discovery made in Brazil, did not hesitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that, though many ounces of silver had always been given  
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for an ounce of gold, because mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either. In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen, as we advance further west. The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It was as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius; numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve. The quantity of the metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, which was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it as one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe. This proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since the Brazils furnished a great quantity of it; this is owing to particular circumstances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of silver from falling so much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is the same spirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

At all times men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either because originally they were the reward of strength, and the mark of power; or because they have every where obtained that regard which is due only to abilities and virtue. A desire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himself with the choicest and most brilliant things nature can supply. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails among savages as in civilized nations. Of all the substances that represent the splendor of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor has any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond has the red, of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the sapphire,

sapphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the dearest, when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art has added the brilliant and sparkling lustre of the several faces.

There are not many diamond mines in the world. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the East Indies. The oldest is in the river Gouel, which comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soulempour, from the name of a village situated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, no more than out of the Succadan, a river in the island of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in clusters, but scattered up and down, in a sandy, stony and barren soil; lying at six, eight, ten, and twelve feet below the surface, and sometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is purchased, and the purchaser is sometimes enriched and sometimes ruined, according as he is either successful or unfortunate. Some apprehensions were raised that the continual wars in India would put an end to this source of riches, but these were removed by a discovery that was made at Serra-de-Frio in Brazil. Some slaves who were condemned to look for gold, used to find some little bright stones, which they threw away among the sand and gravel. Some curious miners preserved several of these singular pebbles, which were shewn to Pedro d'Almeida, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he suspected that they might be diamonds. To ascertain this point the court of Lisbon commissioned d'Acugna, their minister in Holland, to make necessary enquiries. He put some of these pebbles into the hands of able artificers, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds. The Portuguese immediately searched for them with such success, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home 1146 ounces. This produced such a plenty, that their price fell considerably; but the ministry took such measures as soon made them rise to their original value, which they have maintained ever since. We conferred on a company the exclusive right of searching for and settling diamonds; and to restrain the avidity of the company itself, it was required to employ no more than 600 slaves in that business. It has since been permitted to employ as many as it pleases, upon condition that six-y-six pounds be paid for every minor. In both con-

tracts, the court has reserved to itself all diamonds that shall exceed a certain number of carrats. A law which forbade, on pain of death, to encroach upon this privilege, was not sufficient to insure the observance of it. It was imagined to be more effectual to depopulate the places, which lay near the rich mine, and to make a solitary waste of all the regions, which might be tempted to interfere in so lucrative a trade. Throughout the space of an hundred leagues, there is but one large village left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's agents and slaves. Their privilege, constantly protected by the mother-country, has never met with the least opposition. The government itself is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which must necessarily be fluctuating, the court delivers annually diamonds to the value of 548,000*l.* to certain contractors, who engage to sell no others. They are bought up in the rough state by the English and Dutch, who cut them, and then dispose of them all over Europe. They are neither so hard nor so clear as those of the East-Indies, nor do they sparkle so much, but they are whiter. They are sold ten per cent. cheaper, supposing the weight to be equal.

The finest diamonds in the world are the following; that of the great Mogul, which weighs 279 carrats; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carrats; the great Sancy, of 106 carrats; and the Pitt, of 136 carrats. All these are still very trifling, when compared to the diamond sent from Brazil to the king of Portugal, which weighs 1680 carrats, or *twelve ounces and a half*. Though we know of no proportion by which to ascertain the value of such a gem, it has been estimated at 57,000,000*l.* A great abatement must be made in this estimate, if, as some very skilful lapidaries suspect, it should prove to be but a topaz.

It is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valley, where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that rush into them, and by five small rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. It is certain, however, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry, but that they are scattered about, and picked up in larger quantities during the rainy seasons, and after violent storms.

The trade of Portugal, in this country, is carried on upon the same exclusive plan on which the several nations of Europe trade with their colonies of America; and it more particularly resembles the ancient Spanish method, in not sending out single ships, as the convenience of the several places, and the judgment of the European merchants, may direct; but by annual fleets, which sail at stated times from Portu-



gal, and compose three flotas, bound to as many ports in Brazil; namely, to Pernambuco, in the northern part; to Rio Janeiro, at the southern extremity, and to the Bay of All-Saints, in the middle.

In this last is the capital, which is called *St. Salvador*, and sometimes the city of *Bahia*, where all the fleets rendezvous on their return to Portugal. This city commands a noble, spacious, and commodious harbour. It is built upon a high and steep rock, having the sea upon one side, and a lake forming a crescent on the other. The situation makes it, in a manner, impregnable by nature; and they have besides added to it very strong fortifications. It is populous, magnificent, and beyond comparison the most gay and opulent city in all Brazil. As the situation of this metropolis will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be distinguished from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocs. Surprisingly stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silken curtains, which they open and shut as they please, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages. The women seldom enjoy this luxury. These people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high festivals; and no one is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy, does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion.

The want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at *St. Salvador*. The hypocrisy of some, the superstition of others, avarice within, and pompous parade without, extreme indulgence bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous, the distrust that attends weakness, that indolence which trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relates to pleasure or business; all the vices that are to be found either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at *St. Salvador*. The depravity of their manners, however, seems to decrease, in proportion as the government of the mother-country is more enlightened. Those improvements in knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a generous people.

The trade of Brazil is very great, and increases every year; which is the less surprising, as the Portuguese have opportunities of supplying themselves with slaves for their

Several works, at a much cheaper rate than any other European power that has settlements in America; they being the only Europeans who have established colonies in Africa, from whence they import between forty and fifty thousand negroes annually, all of which go into the amount of the cargo of the Brazil fleets for Europe. Notice has already been taken of the diamonds, which, with the sugar, the tobacco, the hides, the valuable drugs for medicine and manufactures, may give some idea of the importance of this trade, not only to Portugal, but to all the trading powers of Europe.

As *logwood* is a considerable article of Brazilian commerce, it may not be improper to give a short description of it. The tree that produces it is as tall and bushy as our oak; the leaves are small, roundish, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The blossoms, which resemble lilies of the valley, are of a fine red, and have a fragrant smell. The bark is so thick, that there is very little left when the wood is stripped. This wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine polish; but its chief use is for the red dye. The tree grows in dry and barren places, and among the rocks; it is found in most provinces of the Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca; and the best of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that captainship.

The chief commodities which the European ships carry to Brazil in return, are not the fiftieth part the produce of Portugal; they consist of woollen goods of all kinds, from England, France, and Holland; the linens and laces of Holland, France, and Germany; the silks of France and Italy; silk and thread stockings, hats, lead, tin, pewter, iron, copper, and all sorts of utensils wrought in these metals, from England; as well as salt fish, beef, flour, and cheese. Oil they have from Spain; wine, with some fruit, is nearly all they are supplied with from Portugal. England is at present most interested in the trade of Portugal, both for home consumption and the use of the Brazils. However, the French have become very dangerous rivals to us in this, as in many other branches of trade.

Brazil is a very wealthy and flourishing settlement. Their export of sugar, within forty years, is grown much greater than it was, though anciently it made almost the whole of their exportable produce, and they were without rivals in the trade. Their tobacco is remarkably good, though not raised in such large quantities as in the American colonies. The northern and southern parts of Brazil abound with horned cattle: these are hunted for their hides only, of which

which no less than 20,000 are sent annually to Europe. The Portuguese had been long in possession of Brazil before they discovered the treasures of gold and diamonds, which have since made it so valuable. Their fleets rendezvous in the bay of All-Saints, to the amount of one hundred sail of large ships, in May or June, and carry to Europe a cargo little inferior in value to the treasures of the Spanish flota and galleons. The gold alone, great part of which is coined in America, amounts to near four millions sterling; but part of this is brought from their colonies in Africa, together with ebony, and ivory.

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## C H A P. XIV.

### *French Settlements in America.*

THE possessions and claims of the French, about the middle of the century, consisted of almost the whole continent of North America; which vast country they divided into two great provinces, the northern of which they called Canada, comprehending a much greater extent than the British province of that name, as it included a great part of the provinces of New York, New England, and Nova Scotia. The southern provinces they called Louisiana, in which they included a part of Carolina. This distribution, and the military dispositions, which the French made to support it, formed the principal cause of the war between Great Britain and France, the issue A. D. 1756. of which is so well known. While the French were rearing their infant colonies, and with the most sanguine hopes forming vast designs of an extensive empire, one wrong step in their politics lost them the whole; for, by commencing hostilities many years too soon, they were driven from Canada, and forced to yield to Great Britain all that fine country of Louisiana, eastward of the Mississippi. At the treaty of peace, however, they were allowed to keep possession of the western banks of that river, and the small town of New Orleans, near the mouth of it; which territories they ceded to Spain, for reasons unknown to the public. The French, therefore, from being one of the greatest European powers in that quarter, and to the American colonies a very dangerous neighbour

and rival, have now lost all footing in North America; but on the southern continent they have still a settlement, which is called *Cayenne*, situated between the equator and fifth deg. of north latitude, and between the 50th and 55th of west longitude.

This country, which was long distinguished by the pompous title of *Equinoctial France*, was not the sole property of that power, as she at first pretended. The Dutch, by settling to the north, and the Portuguese to the south, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pincon; which limits were fixed by several treaties. These boundaries were equally distant from Cayenne; and the extent between them comprehends no less than an hundred leagues of the sea coast. The navigation along this coast is extremely difficult, on account of the rapidity of the currents, and is continually obstructed by small islands, banks of sand, and of hardened mud, and by strong mangroves closely entangled, which extend two or three leagues into the sea. There is no harbour, and few places where ships can land; and the lightest sloops often meet with insuperable obstacles. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent are not more navigable. Their bed in many places is barred by vast rocks, which makes it impossible to sail through them. The shore, which is generally flat, is mostly overflowed by the spring-tides. In the inland country, most of the lowlands also become morasses in the rainy season. Then there is no safety but upon the higher grounds. These inundations, however, which suspend all the labours of husbandry, contribute to render the heat more supportable, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures can only be formed of the population of the inland parts. That of the sea-coasts may amount to nine or ten thousand men, divided into several nations, the most powerful of which are the Galibis. Some missionaries, by great attention and perseverance, have found means to fix some of those roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, against whom they had with reason entertained the strongest prejudices. The first adventurers who frequented this country, took away, or bought men, whom they condemned to the hardest labours of slavery, on the very soil where they were born free, or sold them to the colonists of the Caribbee islands. Their common price at first was about seventeen pounds a head. Happily for the inhabitants, they rose so exorbitantly in their demands, that no purchasers could be found. It was thought preferable to purchase

## *146 Government of the French Colonies in the West Indies.*

chase negroes, who were almost as expert at hunting and fishing, and better skilled in the labours of the great plantations that were then carrying on in every part.

Though the coast of this country be very low, yet within land there are fine hills very proper for settlements. The French, however, have not extended them so far as they might; but they raise the same commodities which they have from the West Indian islands at Cayenne, on this coast, at the mouth of the river of that name, which is about forty-five miles in circumference. The island is very unhealthy; but having some good harbours, the French have some settlements, which raise sugar and coffee.

The French were among the last nations who made settlements in the West Indies; but they made ample amends by the vigour with which they pursued them, and by that chain of judicious and admirable measures which they used in drawing from them every advantage that the nature of the climate affords; and in contending against the difficulties which it threw in their way. They are sensible that, as the mother country is ultimately to receive all the benefit of their labours and acquisitions, the prosperity of their plantations must be derived from the attention with which they are regarded at home. For this reason, the plantations are particularly under the care and inspection of the council of commerce, a board composed of twelve of the most considerable officers of the crown, assisted by the deputies of all the considerable trading towns and cities in France, who are chosen from the richest and most intelligent of their traders, and allowed a handsome salary for their attendance at Paris, from the funds of their respective cities. This council sits once a week, when the deputies propose plans for redressing every grievance of trade, for raising the branches that are fallen, for extending new ones, and, in fine, for every thing that may improve the work, or promote the vent, of their manufactures. When they are all satisfied of the usefulness of any regulation, they propose it to the royal council, where their report is always received with particular attention. An edict to enforce it accordingly issues; and is executed with a punctuality that distinguishes their government.

The internal government of their colonies is intrusted to a governor, or intendant, and a royal council. The governor is invested with a great deal of power; which, however, on the side of the crown, is checked by the intendant; who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue; and on the side of the people, it is checked by the royal council, whose office it is to see that the people

ple are not oppressed by one, nor defrauded by the other; and they are all checked by the constant and jealous eye which the government at home keeps over them; the officers of all the ports of France being charged, under the severest penalties, to interrogate all captains of ships coming from the colonies, what reception they met with at the ports to which they sailed? how justice was administered to them? what charges they were made liable to, and of what kinds? That the colonies may be as little burdened as possible, and that the governor may have less temptation to stir up troublesome intrigues, or favor factions in his government, his salary is paid by the crown; he has no perquisites, and is strictly forbidden to carry on any trade, or to have any plantations in the island, or on the continent; or any interest whatever, in goods or lands, within his government, except the house he lives in, and a garden for his convenience and recreation. All the other officers are paid by the crown, out of the revenues of the mother country. The fortifications are built and repaired, and the soldiers paid out of the same funds. In general their colonies pay no taxes; but when, upon any extraordinary emergency, taxes are raised, they are always very moderate. The duties upon the export of their produce at the West-Indian islands, or at its import into France, are next to nothing; in both places hardly making two per cent. The commodities sent to the islands pay no duties at all. Their other regulations respecting the judges of the admiralty, law-suits, recovery of debts, lenity to such as have suffered by earthquakes, hurricanes, or bad seasons, the peopling their colonies, the number of whites to be employed by the planters, and lastly, the management of negroes, cannot be sufficiently admired; and might be imitated with great advantage by their neighbours.

The French colony upon the Spanish island of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, is the most important and valuable of all their foreign-settlements; and this they possess through the indolence of the Spaniards on that island, or the partiality of their court to the French nation.

*Martinico* is the largest of the islands of which the French have the sole possession, being sixty miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The inland part of it is hilly, and pours out, on every side, a number of agreeable and useful rivers, which adorn and enrich this island in a high degree. The produce of the soil is sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, and such fruits as are found in the neighbouring islands. But sugar is here, as in all the West India islands, the principal commodity, of which they export a considerable

able quantity annually. Martinico, is the residence of the governor of the French islands in these seas. Its bays and harbours are numerous, safe, and commodious; and so well fortified, that they often bade defiance to the English, till the war of 1756, when the British arms being triumphant in every quarter of the globe, this island was added to the British empire, but it was given back to the treaty of peace.

*Guadalupe*, about thirty leagues north of Martinico, and almost as much south of Antigua, is forty miles long and thirty-eight broad. It is divided into two parts, by a small arm of the sea, or rather a narrow channel, through which no ships can venture; but the inhabitants pass it in a ferry boat. Its soil is equally fertile with that of Martinico, producing sugar, cotton, indigo, and ginger. This island is in a flourishing condition, and its exports of sugar are almost incredible. Like Martinico it was formerly attacked by the English, who gave up the attempt; but in 1759, it was reduced by the British arms, and was given back at the peace of 1763.

*St. Lucia* received its name from being discovered on the day dedicated to the virgin martyr St. Lucia. The English took possession of this island without opposition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ship of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off some Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occasioned the savages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended savages; and, in August 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they massacred every one that opposed them. The few who escaped their vengeance, quitted for ever a settlement that could not have arrived to any considerable degree of prosperity.

In the first ages of the world, before civil societies were formed and polished, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he pleased for his own use, and even to consume it, if it were of a perishable nature. The use that was thus made of a common right, supplied the place of property. As soon as any one had in this manner taken possession of any thing, it could be taken from him by another without injustice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive state of nature, that the European nations considered America when it was first discovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were sufficiently authorised to seize upon any country, if no other nation of our continent were in possession of it. Such was constantly  
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and uniformly the only public right observed in the new world, and which men have not scrupled to avow and attempt to justify in the present century. On these principles, by no means laudable. St. Lucia was to belong to any power that would people it. The French attempted it first. They sent over forty inhabitants under the conduct of Rouffelan, a brave, active, prudent man, A. D. 1650. and much beloved by the natives on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a stop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his successors were murdered by the discontented Caribs, who were dissatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the English, who evacuated it in 1666. At length it was agreed on between these two powers, that St. Lucia, with Dominica, and St. Vincent, should remain neutral. But the French, before the war of 1756 broke out, began to settle these islands; which by the treaty of peace were yielded up to Great Britain, and this island to France. The soil of St. Lucia, in the vallies, is extremely rich. It produces excellent timber, and abounds with pleasant rivers, and well situated harbours; and is now declared a free port under certain restrictions. The English made themselves masters of it in 1778; but it was restored again to the French in 1783.

The island of *Tobago* is about thirty-two miles in length and nine in breadth. The climate here is not so hot as might be expected so near the equator; and it is said that it lies out of the course of those hurricanes, which have sometimes proved so fatal to the other West India islands. It has a fruitful soil, capable of producing sugar, and indeed every thing else that is raised in the West Indies, with the addition of cinnamon, nutmeg, and gum copal. It is well watered with numerous springs; and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for shipping. The importance of this island appears from the expensive and formidable armaments, which have been sent thither by European powers in support of their different claims. It seems to have been chiefly possessed by the Dutch, who defended their pretensions against both England and France with the most obstinate perseverance. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, it was declared neutral; though by the treaty of peace in 1763, it was yielded up to Great Britain; but in June 1781, it was taken by the French, and ceded to them by the treaty of 1783.—*St. Bartholemew, Desseada, and Mariegalante*, are three small islands lying in the neighbourhood of Antigua and St. Christopher's. They are of no great consequence



consequence to the French, except in time of war, when they give shelter to an incredible number of privateers, which greatly annoy our West India trade. It would, therefore, be good policy in Great Britain to take possession of these islands, which would seem to be a matter of no great difficulty, as they have been frequently reduced by the English, and as frequently given back to the French. St. Bartholomew is now to be considered as belonging to the crown of Sweden, being ceded to it by France in 1785.

## C H A P. XV.

*Of Surinam, the capital of the Dutch Colonies and Settlements in Guiana.—Of the Dutch American islands.*

**A**FTER the Portuguese had dispossessed the Dutch of Brazil, they were obliged to console themselves with their rich possessions in the East Indies, and to sit down content in the West with Surinam; a country once possessed by the English, but of no great value whilst we had it, and which we ceded to them in exchange for New York; with two or three small and barren islands in the north sea, not far from the Spanish main. Dutch Guiana, is situated between five and seven degrees north latitude, extending an hundred miles along the coast from the mouth of the river, Oronoco, north, to the river Moroni, or French Guiana, south. The climate of this country is generally reckoned unwholesome; and a considerable part of the coast is low, and covered with water. The chief settlement is Surinam, a town built on a river of the same name; and the Dutch have extended their plantations thirty leagues above the mouth of this river. This is one of the richest and most valuable colonies belonging to the United Provinces; but it is in a less prosperous situation than it was some years since, owing, among other causes, to the wars with the fugitive negroes, whom the Dutch treated with great barbarity, and who are become so numerous, having increased from year to year, that they have formed a kind of colony in woods almost inaccessible, along the rivers of Surinam, Saramaca, and Copenamc, and are become very formidable enemies to their former masters. Under the command of chiefs, whom they have elected among themselves, they have cultivated lands for their sustenance, and make frequent incursions in-  
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to the neighbouring plantations. The chief trade of Surinam consists in sugar, a great deal of cotton, tobacco, flax, skins, some valuable dying drugs, and coffee of an excellent kind.

The coffee-tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature scantily supplying the necessaries of life, scatters its luxuries with a lavish hand, was long the favourite plant of that happy country. The unsuccessful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country steeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they sold it, in order to secure to themselves a trade from which they derived all their wealth. They continued in this error, till they had conveyed the tree itself to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam; when they were convinced by experience, that the seed of the coffee tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unless it is put fresh into the ground. The fruit of this plant resembles a cherry. It grows in clusters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves, of the same green as those of the laurel, but something longer. When it comes to be of a deep red, it is gathered and carried to the mill. This mill is composed of two wooden rollers, furnished with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter: these are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper in which they put the coffee, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is stript of its first skin, and divided into two parts, as may be seen by the form of it after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one side, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a brass sieve, where the skin drops between the wires while the fruit it slides over them into baskets placed ready to receive it. It is then thrown into a vessel full of water where it soaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly washed. When the whole is finished, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horse. In passing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin skin that detaches itself from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing-mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a slave with considerable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of these plates, clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon

a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are separated by negroes. After these operations the coffee is fit for sale. The tree, which produces it, flourishes only in those climates where the winters are extremely mild. The curious raise them only in *hot-houses*, where they water them frequently, and this merely for the pleasure of seeing them. The coffee-tree delights particularly in hills and mountains, where its root is almost always dry, and its head frequently watered with gentle showers. It prefers a western aspect, and ploughed ground without any appearance of grass. The plants should be placed at eight feet distance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen inches deep. If left to themselves they would rise to the height of twenty feet; but they are stunted to five, for the sake of gathering their fruit with greater care. Thus dwarfed they extend their branches, so that they cover the whole spot round about them.

Connected with Surinam, it may be proper to mention the two Dutch colonies of Demerary and Isequeibo on the Spanish main, which surrendered to the English in the year 1781, and were represented as a very valuable acquisition, which would produce more revenue to the crown than all the British West India islands united. But the report was either not believed or slighted, for these places were left defenceless, and soon retaken by a French frigate.

An ingenious writer\* observes, that the inhabitants of Dutch Guiana, are either whites, blacks, or the reddish brown aboriginal natives of America. The promiscuous intercourse of these different people has likewise generated several intermediate casts, whose colours immutably depend on their degree of consanguinity to either whites, Indians, or negroes. These are divided into mulattoes, *tercerones*, *quarterones*, and *quinterones*, with several intermediate subdivisions, proceeding from their retrograde intercourse.

There are so great a number of birds, of various species, and remarkable for the beauty of their plumage, in Guiana, that several persons in this colony have employed themselves advantageously with their slaves and independents, in killing and preserving birds for the cabinets of naturalists in different parts of Europe. The torporific eel is found in the rivers of Guiana, which, when touched either by the hand, or by a rod of iron, gold, silver, copper, or by a stick of some particular kinds of heavy American wood, communicates a shock resembling that of electricity. There are an immense number and variety of snakes in this country, which form

\* Dr. Bancroft.

One of its principal inconveniencies. A snake was killed some years since, on a plantation which had belonged to Peter Amyatt, esq. which was upwards of thirty-three feet in length, and in the largest place, near the middle, was three feet in circumference. It had a broad head, large prominent eyes, and a very wide mouth, in which was a double row of teeth. Among the animals of Dutch Guiana, is a *Laubba*, which is peculiar to this country. It is a small amphibious creature, about the size of a pig four months old, covered with fine short hair; and its flesh, by the Europeans who reside here, is preferred to all other kinds of meat.

The most noted, though not the largest island in America, belonging to the Dutch, is *St. Eustatius*, or *Eustatia*, situated about three leagues north of *St. Christopher's*. It is only a mountain, about twenty-nine miles in circumference, rising out of the sea, like a pyramid, and almost round. But though so small, and inconveniently laid out by nature, the industry of the Dutch has made it turn to very good account; and it is said to contain 5000 whites, and 15,000 negroes. The sides of the mountain are disposed in very pretty settlements; but they have neither springs nor rivers. They raise here sugar and tobacco; and this island, as well as *Curassou*, is engaged in the Spanish contraband trade; and both places generally profit by their neutrality. But when hostilities were commenced by Great Britain against Holland, admiral Rodney and general Vaughan were sent with a considerable land and sea force against *St. Eustatius*, which, being incapable of defence, surrendered at discretion. The private property A. D. 1781. of the inhabitants was confiscated with a degree of rigour very uncommon among civilized nations, and very inconsistent with the humanity and generosity by which the English nation used to be characterized. The reason assigned was, that the inhabitants of *St. Eustatius* had assisted the revolted colonies with naval and other stores. But in the month of November, the same year, *St. Eustatius* was retaken by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouillé, though their force consisted of only three frigates, and some small craft, and about three hundred men.

Though *St. Eustatius* is not populous, yet it has spared some of its number to people a neighbouring island, known by the name of *Saba*. This is a steep rock, on the summit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, which do not lie any time on the soil, give growth to plants of an exquisite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary size. Fifty European families, with

about 120 slaves, here raise cotton, spin it, make stockings, of it, and sell them to other colonies as high as *twenty-six* shillings a pair. In all America there is no blood so pure as that of Saba, the women there preserve a freshness of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee islands. "Happy colony!" says an eloquent historian, "elevated at the top of a rock, between the sky and the sea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading its storms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a simple commodity, from which it derives ease without the temptation of riches: is employed in labours less troublesome than useful, and possesses in peace all the blessings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philosopher may contemplate at leisure the errors and passions of men, who come, like the waves of the sea, to strike and dash themselves on the rich coasts of America, the spoils and possession of which they are perpetually contending for, and resting from each other: hence may he view at a distance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midst of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics, devouring gold without ever being satisfied, wading through seas of blood to amass those metals, those pearls, those diamonds, which are used to adorn the oppressors of mankind; loading innumerable ships with those precious casks, which furnish luxury with purple, and from which flow pleasures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this mass of follies, and spins in peace the cotton which constitutes all his finery and wealth.\*"

Under the same climate lies the island of *St. Martin*, containing a considerable number of hills, which are so many rocks covered with heath. The sandy soil of its plains and valleys can only be rendered fruitful by showers, which seldom happen, and are less beneficial in proportion as they are exhale by the sun, or drained off from the places where they fall. Both these islands were captured by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, at the time when Eustatius surrendered to the arms of Great Britain, but were afterwards retaken by the French.

*Curassou*, which is about thirty miles long, and ten broad, is not only a barren island, and dependent upon the rains for its water, but the harbour is naturally one of the worst in America. The Dutch, however, have entirely remedied that defect; for they have upon this harbour one

\* Abbé Raynal.

of the largest, and, at the same time, the most elegant and cleanly towns in the West Indies. The public buildings are numerous and handsome; the private houses commodious; and the magazines large, convenient, and well filled. All kind of labour is here performed by engines, some of which are so well contrived, that ships are at once lifted into the dock. Though this island be naturally barren, the industry of the Dutch has brought it to produce a considerable quantity both of tobacco and sugar; it has besides good salt-works, for the produce of which there is a brisk demand from the English islands, and the colonies on the continent. But what renders this island of most advantage to the Dutch, is the contraband trade which is carried on between the inhabitants and the Spaniards, and their harbour being the rendezvous to all nations in the time of war. The Dutch ships from Europe wait here for intelligence, or pilots, and then proceed to the Spanish coasts for trade, which they force with a strong hand, it being very difficult for the Spanish guarda-costas to take these vessels; for they are not only stout ships, with a number of guns, but are manned with large crews of chosen seamen, deeply interested in the safety of the vessel and the success of the voyage. They have each a share in the cargo, proportioned to their respective ranks, and supplied by the merchants upon credit, and at prime cost. This animates them with uncommon courage, and they fight bravely, because every man fights in defence of his own property. Besides this there is a constant intercourse between this island and the Spanish continent.

Curassou has numerous warehouses, always full of the commodities of Europe and the East Indies. Here are all sorts of woollen and linen cloth, silks, ribbons, iron utensils, naval and military stores, brandy, the spices of the Moluccas, and the calicoes of India, white and painted. Hither the Dutch West India, which is also their African company, annually bring three or four cargoes of slaves; and to this mart the Spaniards themselves come in small vessels, and carry off not only the best of the negroes, at a very high price, but great quantities of all the above sorts of goods; and the settler has this advantage, that the refuse of warehouses and mercers' shops, and every thing that is grown unfashionable and unsaleable in Europe, go off here extremely well, every thing being sufficiently recommended by its being European. The Spaniards pay in gold and silver, coined or in bars, cocoa, vanilla, jesuit's bark, cochineal, and other valuable commodities. The trade of Curassou, even in times of peace, is said to be annually worth,

to the Dutch, no less than 500,000*l.* but in time of war, the profit is still greater, for then it becomes the common emporium of the West Indies. It affords a retreat to ships of all nations, and at the same time refuses none of them arms and ammunition. The intercourse with Spain being then interrupted, the Spanish colonies have scarcely any other market from whence they can be well supplied either with slaves or goods. The French come hither to buy the beef, pork, corn, flour, and lumber, which are brought from the continent of North America, or exported from Ireland; so that whether in peace or in war, the trade of this island flourishes extremely. The trade of all the Dutch American settlements was originally carried on by the West India company alone: at present, such of the ships as go upon that trade, pay two and a half per cent. for their licences. The company, however, reserve to themselves the whole of what is carried on between Africa and the American islands.

The other islands, Bonaire and Aruba are inconsiderable in themselves, and should be regarded as appendages to Curassou, for which they are chiefly employed in raising cattle and other provisions.

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## C H A P. XVI.

### *Of the Danish American Islands, St. Thomas, and Santa Cruz.*

**S**T. Thomas, the farthest island of the Caribbees towards the west, was totally uninhabited when the Danes undertook to form a settlement upon it. They were at first opposed by the English, under pretence that some emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The British ministry stopped the progress of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of sugar, such as a sandy soil of no greater extent than fifteen miles in circumference would admit of. So small a cultivation would never have given any importance to the island of St. Thomas; but the sea has hollowed out from its coast an excellent harbour, in which fifty ships may ride with security. So signal an advantage attracted both the Eng-  
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lish and French Buccaneers, who were desirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were subject to pay in the settlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward islands, they put into that of St. Thomas to dispose of them. It was also the asylum of all merchant ships which frequented it as a neutral-port in the time of war. It was the mart where the neighbouring colonies bartered their respective commodities, which they could not do elsewhere with so much ease and safety. It was the port from which they continually dispatched vessels richly laden to carry on a clandestine trade with the Spanish coasts; in return for which, they brought back considerable quantities of metal and merchandize of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great consequence. Denmark, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The persons who enriched themselves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other situations. The mother-country had no other communication with its colony than by a single ship, sent out annually to Africa to purchase slaves, which being sold in America, the ship returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719, their traffic increased by the clearing of the island of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half so large. These slender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Island, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a settlement two years before.

This island, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a considerable number of hills; but they are neither barren, steep, nor very high. The soil of the plains and vallies, which run between them, seems to be very fruitful, and is watered by a number of springs, the water of which is said to be excellent. Nature, at the same time that she has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the finest bays that can be conceived. At every step some remains of plantations and rows of orange and lemon trees are still found; which make it evident that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not farther distant than five or six leagues, had formerly settled there.

The English, observing that so promising an island was without inhabitants, began to raise some plantations there, towards the end of the last century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were surprised by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men and carried off the women and children to Porto Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making some attempts to settle



there in 1717. But the subjects of Great Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, sent thither some adventurers, who were at first plundered and soon after driven off by the Spaniards. The jealousy of these American tyrants extends even to the prohibiting of fishing boats to approach any shore where they have a right of possession, though they do not exercise it. Too idle to prosecute cultivation, too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab Island to eternal solitude; they will neither inhabit it themselves, nor suffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of exclusive sovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this island for that of Santa Cruz.

*Santa Cruz* had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and English. Their rivalry in trade soon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a spot upon which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in securing the consequences of their victory, when they were

A. D. 1650. attacked and driven out by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ships. The

triumph of these lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the island, surrendered without resistance to 160 French, who had embarked from St. Christopher's to make themselves masters of the island. These new inhabitants lost no time to make themselves acquainted with a country so much in request. In a soil, in other respects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate size, which, gliding gently almost on a level with the sea, through a flat country, furnished only a brackish water. Two or three springs, which they found in the innermost parts of the island, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the most part dry. The construction of reservoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The island being flat, and covered with old trees, scarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poisonous vapours, with which its morasses clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay; and getting on board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration they had raised on the island. As soon as the flames were extinguished,

guished, they went on shore. They found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar, flourished equally in it. So rapid was the progress of this colony, that in eleven years from its commencement there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a proportionable number of slaves. It was rapidly advancing to a degree of prosperity, which would have eclipsed the most flourishing settlements of the French nation, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it decline again. In 1696 there were no more than 147 men, with their wives and children, and 623 blacks remaining; and these were transported from hence to St. Domingo.

Some have supposed, that the neglect of Santa Cruz was the result of a determination of the court of Versailles to abandon the small islands, in order to unite all the strength, industry, and population in the large ones. But this is a mistaken notion. The resolution did not take its rise from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their interests. The spirit of finance has, at all times, been injurious to commerce\*; it has destroyed the source from whence it sprung. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for 32,000*l*. This northern power seemed likely to take deep root in America; but unfortunately, she laid her plantations under the yoke of exclusive privileges. Industrious people of all sects, particularly Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the interests of the colonists and their oppressors, but without success. The two parties kept up a continual struggle of animosity, not of industry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its constitution, purchased, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at about 453,000*l*. part of which was paid down, and the remainder in bills upon the treasury, bearing interest. From this time the navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions. The rapaciousness of the treasury unfortunately prevented the advantage which this arrangement would otherwise have produced. Indeed the national productions and merchandise, in short, whatever they could draw from the first hand, and put on board Danish vessels, were to be shipped from the mother country free of all duties; but,

\* Abbé Raynal.

for all manufactures that did not fall under these descriptions, they demanded a tax of four per cent. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports six. Of *American productions, what was consumed in the mother country had two and a half per cent. laid upon it; and what was carried to foreign markets had one.*

At the same time that the trade to the islands recovered its natural independence, at the expence of these burdensome restrictions, that to Africa, which is the basis of it, was likewise laid open. The government had, above a century before, purchased of the king of Aquamhou, the two forts of Fredericksburg and Christiansburgh situated on the gold coast, at a small distance from each other. The company, in virtue of its charter, had the sole possession of them; and exercised its privileges with that barbarity, of which the most polished European nations have set the example in these devoted climates. Only one of its agents had the resolution to renounce those cruelties, to which custom had given a sanction. So great was the reputation of his humanity, and the confidence reposed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the distance of a hundred leagues to see him. The sovereign of a distant country sent his daughter to him with presents of slaves, that Schilderop, for so this European, thus revered through all the coasts of Nigritia, was called, might give him a grandson. "O virtue!" says an amiable writer, "thou dost still exist in the souls of these wretched beings, condemned to dwell with tigers, or groan beneath the yoke of their own species! They yet have hearts susceptible of the soft impressions of humanity and beneficence! Just and virtuous Dane! What monarch ever received so pure, so glorious a homage, as thy nation has seen thee enjoy? And where? Upon a sea, upon a continent, degraded for ever by an infamous traffic, of men exchanged for arms! and children sold by their parents! of crimes and misfortunes, carried on through two centuries! We cannot sufficiently deplore such horrors; and, if we could, our lamentations would be useless\*."

Whilst the islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz remained in the hands of the Danish West India company, they were ill managed, and of little consequence; but since that wise and benevolent prince, the late king of Denmark, bought up the company's stock, they have been so much improved, that the island of St. Thomas is said to produce upwards of 3000 hogshheads of sugar of 1000 weight each, and

\* Abbé Raynal.

other of the West India commodities in tolerable plenty. In time of war, privateers bring in their prizes here for sale; and a great many vessels trade from hence along the Spanish main, and return with money in specie or bars, and valuable merchandize. As to Santa Cruz, from a perfect desert a few years ago, it is beginning to settle very fast. Several persons from the English islands have gone to settle there, and have received very great encouragement.

The Dutch and Danes hardly deserve to be mentioned among the proprietors of America; their possessions there are comparatively nothing. But as they appear highly worth the attention of these powers, and as the share of the Dutch is worth to them at least 600,000*l.* a year, what must we think of our extensive and valuable possessions? What attention do they not deserve from us? and what may not be made of them by such attention?

“There seems to be a remarkable providence,” says an ingenious writer, “in casting the parts, if I may use the expression, of the several European nations who act upon the stage of America. The Spaniard, proud, lazy, and magnificent, has an ample walk in which to expatiate, a soft climate to indulge his love of ease, and a profusion of gold and silver to procure him all those luxuries his pride demands, but which his laziness would refuse him. The Portuguese, naturally indigent at home, and enterprising rather than industrious abroad, has gold and diamonds as the Spaniard has, wants them as he does, but possesses them in a more useful, though a less ostentatious manner. The English, of a reasoning disposition, thoughtful and cool, and men of business rather than of great industry, impatient of much fruitless labour, abhorrent of constraint, and lovers of a country life, have a lot which indeed produces neither gold nor silver; but they have a large tract of fine continent, a noble field for the exercise of agriculture, and sufficient to furnish their trade without laying them under great difficulties. Intolerant as they are of the most useful restraints, their commerce flourishes from the freedom every man has of pursuing it according to his own ideas, and directing his life after his own fashion. The French, active, lively, enterprising, pliable and politic; and though changing their pursuits, always pursuing the present object with eagerness, are, notwithstanding tractable, and obedient to rules and laws, which bridle their dispositions, and wind and turn them to proper courses. These people had a country, when Canada was in their possession, where more is to be effected by managing the people than by cultivating the ground, and where a meddling commerce, that requires constant motion, flourishes  
more

more than agriculture, or a regular traffic. The Dutch have a rock or two, on which to display the miracles of frugality and diligence (which are virtues), and on which they have exerted these virtues, and shewn those miracles."

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## C H A P. XVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AND OTHER  
IMPORTANT EUROPEAN EVENTS.

*Massacres of September.—The Duke of Brunswick desires a Conference with the French General.—Conquests of the French.—Philosophical Discoveries.*

I N the view of the history of France \*, it has already been mentioned, that the approach of the Prussians spread an instantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and that even the assembly itself partook of the contagion. Of the consequences I shall now give a more particular account. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunswick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this disastrous moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man who, from low origin, with only the advantage of a tolerable education, for he was bred a physician, had raised himself by his abilities and his boldness, to the situation of minister of justice, and who certainly projected the plan of dismissing the old municipality, on the 9th of August, stood forth in the assembly on this memorable emergency. He observed, that there were more than 80,000 stand of fire arms in Paris in the hands of private persons; with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who, instead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, should fall forth to meet the danger. Six commissioners from the assembly he proposed to send to the sections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from those horses which were kept for pleasure. The plan was instantly adopted, and a decree was passed, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented

\* Vol. I.

by age and infirmities, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by another for the disarming of all suspected persons.

M. Robespierre, who had been a member of the constituent assembly, and since that period, had occupied the station of public accuser, was now at the head of the Jacobin fraternity. He had been chosen a member of the new commune, as well as Marat, a Prussian, who existed by publishing a journal, and writing libels on the government. These two men were intimately connected with Danton, the minister of justice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful massacre, which is now to be related, have been ascribed. Since the affair of the 10th of August, Pétion, the mayor of Paris, had lost ground with the populace, and Robespierre had proportionably risen in their esteem. His sanguinary and unfeeling temper was more suited to their savage cruelty, and his eloquence was of that species which is well adapted to vulgar apprehensions\*. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the state prisoners; and, by his endeavours to satiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.—Whether from a concerted plan to produce a general massacre, in which it is said many of the members of the assembly were to be included; or whether it was simply intended to excite the ardour of the people to the defence of the country, is yet undetermined: but certainly, the mode pursued by the commune on the 2d of September A. D. 1792. was pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the city. Instead of ordering the enrolments of volunteers to be made in their respective sections, with order and quietness, they commanded the alarm guns to be fired at two o'clock, the tocsin, or alarm-bell, to be sounded, the country to be proclaimed in danger; and they summoned the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence they pretended they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy.

The alarm guns were fired, the tocsin did sound, but it was not the knell of the Prussians, but of the unhappy prisoners confined in the gaols of Paris. The people did assemble, not to defend, but to exterminate their countrymen. It is a debt due to justice, however, to exonerate the citizens in general from the crimes of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the alarm which was given, repaired not to the Camp de Mars, as these

\* Miss Williams's Letter.

magistrates of murder and insurrection had wished, but, as it were, by instinct, to their respective sections, and there entered their names as the soldiers of liberty.

A considerable multitude, however, was brought together. It was composed, as the Gironde \* assert, partly of hired assassins, and men selected for the purpose of producing a tumult and a massacre; partly of the Marseillois and the remnant of the other federates, and partly of an immense multitude, attracted to the scene of riot by their curiosity or their fears. It is, however, uncertain after all that has been said by both parties, whether the massacre was a preconcerted measure, or the spontaneous impulse of a part of the populace. It is not very improbable that some of those, who had lost friends and relations in the affair of the tenth of August, might be sufficiently exasperated against state prisoners, whom they considered as the authors of their misfortunes, to make the horrid proposal. Be this as it may, the resolutions of the assembly were scarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, that they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against their foreign enemies, but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes. Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cold blood, the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless, and probably innocent, men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the abbey prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impanelled a jury, nine of whom, it is said, were Italians, or assassins from Avignon, and the other three French. Before these self-constituted judges, the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty, was *Il faut le largir*, "*He must be set at liberty*," when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted, and these were declared under the protec-

\* The more moderate party, including Pétion, Brissot, Genfonne, Vergniaud. They derived their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which were among the leaders of the party. The opposite faction is called the Mountain, from its occupying the high seats in the hall of the convention.

tion of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except their commander M. D'Asty. He had been a democrat from the first of the revolution; and when urged by the queen to assume the command in the Tuilleries on the 10th of August, had voluntarily absented himself. The assassins continued the whole night of the second at the abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined. In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When summoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, she was in bed, and was informed by the person who delivered the message, that it was only intended to remove her to the abbey. She begged, in return, to remain undisturbed, since to her one prison was as acceptable as another. Being informed, that she must appear immediately before the tribunal, she dressed in haste and obeyed the summons. In the course of her interrogation, no crimination against the queen or royal family could be extorted from her; and it is said, it was the intention of the judges to acquit her. As she was conducted, however, out of the prison, stupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which produced instantly a violent effusion of blood. In this situation, she was supported by the arms by two men, who forced her to continue her progress over the dead bodies. As she fainted every moment from loss of blood, like Cæsar, she was solicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at last she became so enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no farther, her head was severed from her body. The mangled corpse was exposed to every kind of indignity, and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple, and thewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the streets of Paris, and particularly to the palace royal, where it was recognized, probably without much feeling, by her brutal relations. Madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

Two commissioners of very opposite dispositions were with the king, when the shocking exhibition of the head of Madame Lamballe was made under his windows. One of those men, hearing the noise and recognizing the head, had the brutality to invite the king to come to the window,  
and



and he would see a very curious sight. The king was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, saying, the sight was too shocking for him to support. *The person to whom the king afterwards related these circumstances, asked the names of the two commissioners.* The king freely told him the name of the latter, but refused to mention that of the former; "because," said he, "it can do him no credit at any time, and might possibly, at some future period bring him to trouble.\*"

These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the second and third of September. At the Abbey prison 159 were massacred, exclusive of M. M. D'Angremont, Roisay, and de la Porte, who had been previously beheaded; at the seminary of St. Firmin, 92 unfortunate victims suffered; at the convent of the Carmelites 141; at the Hotel de la France 168; at the Chatelet 214; at the Conciergerie 85; at the Bicetre 153; at the cloister of the Bernardins 73; in all amounting to the shocking number of 1085; including, however, a considerable number of felons, who were imprisoned for forging assignats, and for other crimes. The number of the assassins has been variously reported. They were at first supposed to amount to many thousands; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred. It is evident, however, that the national assembly considered them in a formidable view, or they would have taken some more effective measures than that of sending commissioners from time to time, to dissuade them from their violence. It is probable that the number would at first be greatly exaggerated by report, and that the multitude who followed, from curiosity, or the hope of plunder, greatly exceeded those who were actually engaged in the murders.

The friends of Pétion assert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of these misdeeds, but that he spoke in vain, while the ministers of justice remained silent, M. Roland wrote repeatedly to M. Santerre; and the national guards were all ready in their sections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to disperse the mob; but there is too much reason to suppose Santerre an accomplice in the plot, if there was one, since he took no measures whatever to prevent their atrocities. It was in vain that the deputies dispatched by the assembly exhorted the populace. M. Montmorin, the late mayor of Fontainebleau, though acquitted by a jury, was murdered in the fight of the deputies. During this period of general confusion, several miscreants availed themselves of the circumstance, to gratify their pri-

vate animosity, and some individuals were assassinated in different parts of the city.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither by the national assembly, on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins proceeded from Paris, most of them in post chaises, and as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. The inhabitants of Versailles stood stupified with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans, stood passive spectators of the massacre. Thus perished the duke of Brissac, the bishop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons also some prisoners were massacred on the 9th.

About this time 170 French emigrants were landed from the packets and an open boat at Brighton, many of whom were observed to labour under very distressed circumstances. Soon after 300 unfortunate Frenchmen of the above description were put on shore at East Bourne, many of whom were very hospitably received by lord George Cavendish, lord Bayham, A. Pigot, esq. and many other of the nobility and gentry of that place. They afterwards took different routes for the metropolis. Many from the above place and Brighton went to Lewis, and such as could not get places on the stage coach, hired carts for their conveyance. Subscriptions for the support of these unfortunate people were soon set on foot, and amounted, in a few weeks, to upwards of 20,000*l*.

The advances of the combined armies, since the tenth of August, had been rapid and formidable. On the 30th of that month, general Dumourier called a council at Sedan of all the general officers who were then in that district, M. Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes on purpose to assist it. He explained the distressed state of the French army, and observed, that after taking possession of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether or not they would undertake the siege of Montmedy. The Prussian army amounted to full 55,000 chosen men; Clairfait, with 16,000, had taken post at Chiers, to the right of the Prussians; and a second column of Austrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their support, and were followed by the Hessians and emigrants, whose numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable. In this council it was determined, that the French were by much too weak to attempt to face so immense a force, or to prevent it from passing the Meuse,

which was fordable in sixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay.

On the 20th of September, the French were first enabled to arrest the victorious progress of their adversaries. On that day general Kellerman, whose division consisted of not more than 16,000 men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly superior both in number and in discipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the skill of their adversaries. The duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, attempted repeatedly to surround Kellerman, but *Dumourier* constantly presented himself, and frustrated his manœuvres. Kellerman sustained the attack for fourteen hours, and retained his post till ten o'clock at night, and then took another position to the right of the enemy, who suffered him quietly to make his movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmness and order which were displayed on this occasion by Kellerman's line. The artillery of the enemy made not the smallest impression upon it, while the German soldiers were only kept to their guns by the discipline of the cane.

The advantages resulting to the French from the events of this day were incredible. It lessened their apprehensions of the enemy, gave them a confidence in themselves, and, no doubt, induced the Duke of Brunswick to propose an *armistice*, and desire a conference with the French general on the 24th. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning both the motives and the object of this convention. There is no evidence, however, to justify the report, that the mistress or the ministers of the king of Prussia had been bribed by the French; but, on the contrary, there is reason to believe, that nothing but the duke's conviction of the impossibility of conquering France produced this concession. It is something singular, that the confederate kings, who professedly made war upon the constitution of 1791, should now, after the loss of so much blood and treasure, desire only, as their ultimate object, the re-establishment of that constitution. It is a fact scarcely to be credited, that the same duke of Brunswick, who, in the month of July, prostituted his name by affixing it to a manifesto, in which he professed his intention of restoring to the king of France the full exercise of his former functions; in which he pronounced an irrevocable sentence of death upon all the members of the national assembly, and other public functionaries acting under the constitution; that in the month of September he should acknowledge the full authority of the French nation to give laws to itself; that he

he should intreat only for the personal fate of the king; that he should, with his own lips request it as a favour, that "any place whatever might be assigned him in the new order of things."

While it is evident, that the imprudent conduct of the combined courts proved the destruction of the unfortunate Louis, and that they would now retract only because they were too late made sensible of their folly; it is to be regretted that this moderate language, let it proceed from what motive it would, was not attended to by the legislature of France. They were bound by all the most sacred duties to give peace to their bleeding country, and the boon which was required by the king of Prussia was the most moderate that could be asked; if ever so strongly bent upon a republican government, a splendid title without power or without wealth, conferred upon their former monarch, could not have injured the real interests of the democracy. Such conduct would have been true policy, by forming an alliance with Prussia, France would have cut the very sinews of the confederacy that had been instituted against her; England would have naturally become a partner in the treaty, and the most excellent consequences for the benefit of mankind might have ensued. It had indeed a show of ancient spirit and freedom, when the legislature decreed, that they could not treat with an enemy who appeared in arms, till he had totally evacuated their country. But this was false heroism; it was tinsel and not gold. True heroism is the result of wisdom, and consults the real happiness of those for whom it is interested. To save the lives of men, and to lessen the sum of human calamity; and to divert the attention of the nation from war and conquest, to the arts of peace, and the useful occupations of agriculture and commerce, would have conferred substantial glory on the representatives of France.

The conferences, therefore, between the generals, from whom so much was expected, ended only in the retreat of the Prussians, who were soon after followed by the armies of Austria and Hesse Cassel. The first post abandoned by the Prussians was the pass of Grand Pre: this was on the last day of September. On the first of October, Clermont was also evacuated, and the Prussians decamped from the strong and fortified position on the heights of La Lune, where the French found upwards of 300 horses half eaten. The retreat of the enemy was slow, encumbered as they were with sick, and wasted with want and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun. It has been insinuated, that more than once general Dumourier might have interrupted

their progress, and even possibly might have made prisoners of both the king and the general; and it has, from this circumstance, been furnished, that a secret treaty existed between the generals. It must, however, be remembered, that the French army was still inferior in number to the enemy, and the general was perhaps impressed with a consideration of how much he must risk by a defeat at this important crisis. It does not appear that the Prussians, in their retreat, made any considerable halt at Verdun; and the garrison which they had stationed there surrendered, on capitulation, to general Dillon, on the 12th of October. The Prussian commander at this place had some very free conversation with general Dillon, in which he intimated the strong desire, that his master had for peace and amity with the French nation.

The sieges of Thionville and Lisle are conspicuous circumstances in the history of this campaign. The former is a small but strong fortress, and was entrusted to the command of general Felix Wimpfen, whose reply to the summons of the Austrian general was, "You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another, but you cannot burn the ramparts." It resisted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was said to amount to 28,000 men; and which, in several successful sallies, the besieged frequently harassed and distressed. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garrison and commander received all the honours and applause which a grateful country could confer.

As the possession of the city of *Lisle* was considered by the Austrians as of the utmost importance to their views, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. On the twenty-ninth of September the duke of Saxe Tetschen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna on this important command, summoned the town to surrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. To this summons the following answer was given by the council general of the commons. "We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves." On that very day the Austrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed, for upwards of a week, to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. The principal motive for this procedure was evidently, that by distressing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and seditious, and induced to rise upon the magistrates and commanders, in order to force them

them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was disappointed; for, on the contrary, inspired with a degree of uncommon heroism, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square and hung upon the tree of liberty; and, at the same time passed a resolution, that whoever presumed to remove them for the purpose of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. This spirited resolution the citizens of Lisle supported with (what should always accompany true patriotism) order and discipline. They formed themselves into several companies, to each of which were assigned its proper functions and station. Every precaution was taken to prevent mischievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were constantly employed in knocking out the fuses, to prevent the explosion. The city, however, was soon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their residence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of casemates, by the immensity of rubbish heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almost all destroyed; but the valour, patriotism, and virtue of the inhabitants, increased with their distress; and as soon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devastations of the artillery, it was hospitably incorporated with another. To the sixth of October at noon, the firing was incessant; shells, red-hot balls, and every instrument of destruction, were showered upon the devoted city. The princess Christina, sister to the duke of Saxe-Teichen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant spectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conquest. It is even said, that the princess herself applied the match to some of the engines of destruction. As the garrison was too small to waste its force in sallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its courage and indefatigable assiduity are beyond encomiums; and Marshal Rault, the commander, deserves to be recorded with every mark of respect. It is computed that the Austrian batteries fired upwards of 30,000 red-hot balls, and 6000 bombs, upon the city, exclusive of the fire of one of the finest battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithstanding this the loss of lives was not great; so formidable in appearance, and so little destructive in reality is artillery. The whole loss of both the garrison and people did not exceed 500, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Austrians had flattered themselves with being able to maintain this place, should they have succeeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithstanding the retreat of the combined

armies; but finding themselves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the 7th and 8th of October, they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised.

The arms of France, at this period, were victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hostile to the revolution. He had been among the first to encourage and assist the emigrants; he had acceded to the treaty of Piinitz, he had arrested the French ambassador on the frontiers, on pretences allowed afterwards to be groundless; he had increased his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortresses of Montmelian with troops; and after the affair of the 10th of August he had held a congress of the foreign ministers, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. That plan was, however, deferred. It was upon these reasons that the national assembly, on the 16th of September, declared war against the king of Sardinia; and about the 20th, general Montesquieu entered the territories of Savoy. He describes his march as "a triumph."—He was every where received with joy, and troops flocked to his standard from every part. A detachment from Chambéry waited upon him almost as soon as he passed the boundary, and, on the 21st, he proceeded with a detachment to take possession of that city. The municipality waited for him at the gate in their dress of ceremony to deliver up the key; and testified, in warm terms, the esteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the hotel de Ville, he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them all to an entertainment he had prepared for the purpose. As a mark of confidence, he left the hotel de Ville in the custody of their own town guards, a circumstance which was received with every expression of satisfaction by the citizens. The whole country of Savoy submitted without resistance.

The conquest of Savoy by the French spread an instant alarm over the neighbouring states, and the aristocratic faction in Geneva, in particular, felt no inconsiderable portion of uneasiness. From the other Swiss cantons this party demanded a garrison of 1600 men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears some reason to suspect that the executive council of France were not indisposed to take possession of this flourishing republic; and, with or without reason, for the affair has never been satisfactorily explained, pretended to be offended by the admission of the Swiss garrison. Montesquieu, by their orders, presented himself before the city. The aristocracy became immediately alarmed, they extended the olive-branch

branch to the French general, and the dispute was terminated with apparent equity on the one side, by the admission of the Swiss garrison, and, on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic. The democratic party in Paris could not easily forgive this concession in their general. Montesquieu was suspected, and even accused, of having received a bribe; and soon after various charges of peculation being exhibited against him, to save himself from destruction, or at least from the humiliation and risk of a trial, he left the army and escaped into Switzerland.

The conquests of Custine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were truly brilliant. In the course of a few days, Spire, Worms, and Frankfort surrendered to this victorious commander, with very little resistance. The successive capture of three places, of such considerable strength and importance, in so short a space of time, is almost without example in the history of military affairs. The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblenz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty. In this daring project, he complained that he had been disappointed by the tardiness and inactivity of Kellerman. He wished that general to pass the Sarre and the Moselle directly to Treves and Coblenz, and to leave a small party to watch the motions of the Prussians in their return. Kellerman, however, vindicated himself by stating, that after Dumourier left him, he had no more than 15,000 men under his command; the Prussians amounted to 55,000 men, and consequently general Kellerman was neither able to penetrate such a body, nor did he think it safe to leave the French territory again open to their incursions. The general, disappointed in this favourite measure, still proceeded to extend his conquests in the dominions of the prince of Hesse.

Perhaps the whole history of mankind scarcely includes a picture so striking, of the surprising effects resulting from the enthusiasm of liberty, as the state of France at this moment presented. Actuated by this spirit, the hasty levies of undisciplined peasants, were at once converted into regular armies. Battalions, composed chiefly of beardless boys, chased from the field the disciplined legions of Germany and Prussia; and though checked by no military system, no code of war, no regularly appointed authority, this principle alone was sufficient to retain them in order and subordination. Even the female sex partook in the general patriotism, and many of them proved equal in courage and conduct to the bravest of ours. Not only the



sister of general Anselme and the two miss Fernings, who served as aids de camps to general Dumourier, but many others of the French women distinguished themselves by the most heroic exertions; and even the artillery was frequently served by female patriots, who, regardless of natural or habitual weakness and imbecility, by their spirit and activity, compensated for the want of that vigour which has hitherto been exclusively attributed to men.

Much about this time two important philosophical discoveries were made; the one by a Frenchman, the other by an Italian, at Bologna. The first is, the power of light to render the vitriolic acid altogether harmless to the human body; inasmuch that a man may wash his hands in a substance that would otherwise reduce them to a cinder, with this sole precaution of setting the basin in the rays of the sun. The Italian's discovery consists in proving, experimentally, that animal motion depends on electric fire. His experiments are of that cruel nature, which can only be repeated by the hardened anatomist. They are brought to what is called the *experimentum crucis*; for a muscle being cut, and the parts separated, the motion of the one part produces a correspondent motion in the other, when a substance that is a conductor of the electric fluid is interposed between them; but no such motion is produced when a non-conductor is interposed.

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## C H A P. XVIII.

*French Convention.—Titles abolished.—Success of the Republican Arms.—Factions in the Convention.—Achievements of General Dumourier.*

**I**T is generally agreed that the legislative assembly, both in character and ability, was much inferior to that which preceded it. Its characteristic, however, was rather weakness than dishonesty. The majority was undoubtedly composed of men who meant well to their country; but unfortunately, by the intrigues of the Jacobins, the influence of the Paris mob, and the activity of the republicans themselves, a small faction of anarchists and levellers became,

came, in the end, the ruling party. Had the assembly in time taken the decisive step to decree the removal of the king and the legislature from the seditious metropolis, they might still have continued their labours with profit to their country and honour to themselves. After the fatal 10th of August, the assembly acted entirely under the control of the populace. The galleries, and not the benches, decided every question.

On the *twentieth* of September, the convention met; but if there was reason to complain that the legislative assembly was inferior in respectability to their predecessors, it was with grief and apprehension that men of sense and reflection observed the national convention composed of men still less respectable. Petion, Robespierre, and a few of the most violent of the constituent assembly, were rechosen on this occasion; and Danton, Chabot, Merlin, and others equally without property, rank, or character, were selected from the present legislature. Foreigners were invited to become representatives of France, and unfortunately they were invited, not for the reputation of integrity, but because they had been foremost in the career of republicanisin, and because they had disclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the science of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited from England to represent one department; and a Prussian, of the name of Cloots, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the cells of Bethlechem, was chosen to represent another. The department of Paris was, however, first in infamy upon this as upon every other occasion. There the prostituted duke of Orleans, distinguished by the title of *Egalité*, was united with the infamous incendiary and assassin Marat, with the painter David, and with Legendre, literally by profession a butcher. Actors, news-writers, and men from almost the lowest ranks and stations were mingled with the degraded remnants of the *ci-devant* noblesse, and with such of the clergy as had sufficient laxity of principle to disavow their engagements with the head of their church. This heterogeneous mass, however, included some men respectable for their talents, and some unimpeached as to their integrity. But the brilliancy of Condorcet as a writer, does not compensate for his evident inexperience and imbecillity as a statesman; nor do the metaphysical talents of the Abbé Sieyès appear very happily adapted to the practical purposes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected together, in a moment of political ferment, but little of wisdom, little of unanimity,

animity, little of moderation, could be expected. M. Petion was elected president; and M. Condorcet, vice-president; and M. M. Camus, Vergniaud, Brissot, Lafource, and Rabaud, secretaries. Their first movements were violent, hasty, and without deliberation; and they soon split into factions. M. Collot d'Herbois, who had been formerly an actor, appeared upon the tribune, and reminded the assembly, that there was one declaration which could not for a moment be deferred, viz. the eternal abolition of royalty in France. It was in vain that M. Bazire and other members intreated the convention to proceed with more dignity and deliberation in so important a question; it was in vain they urged the necessity of giving it at least the sanction of a discussion. The abolition of royalty was voted by acclamation, and the house adjourned. On the following day a series of decrees were passed, confirming this resolution. All public acts were to be dated, "The first year of the French Republic." All citizens were declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among the ordinary citizens. The distinction established by the constituent assembly between the active and passive citizens, was abolished. In the course of succeeding sittings, the pensions granted by the constituent assembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to cease, with an exception in favour of those above fifty years of age, whose pensions, however, were not to exceed 1000 \* livres per annum. On this occasion, M. Manuel rose to propose, that, as royalty was abolished, the order of priests, and all religious establishments, should be abolished along with it. To the honour of the convention, however, this proposal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with disdain.

The rage of republicanism was however carried, at this period, to an unexampled excess of folly. With a puerility disgraceful to a great nation, the innocent and indiscriminating titles of Monsieur and Madame were abolished, and the awkward phraseology of Citizen substituted in their stead. The sudden dissolution of the judicial boards appeared so dangerous and rash to all persons in the least accustomed to order and government, that even Thomas Paine, who by his adversaries has been termed an anarchist in principle, deprecated the hasty adoption of the decree, and intreated that the tribunal might be gradually changed, instead of releasing the nation at once, though for a short period, from the salutary restraints of law.

\* Fifty Pounds.

The brilliant and rapid success of the republican arms, however, in the very outset of their career, produced the most astonishing consequences throughout all Europe. It gave firmness to the party who had seized the powers and means of government in France; it emboldened them to insult their neighbours in presumptuous defiance, to outrage human nature with impunity, and to revile in blasphemous impiety the Deity himself. The confederated princes, whose menaces had provoked the irritation, as their discomfiture had crowned the triumphs of these ferocious republicans, did not abandon their former principles, but succeeded in engaging their affrighted neighbours in the same cause. Before the close of November, the dominion of the republic was rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheldt; and the most numerous and best appointed armies of the universe were every where flying from the undisciplined, naked, but enthusiastic troops of the victorious republic. The house of Austria had but recently secured by the power of the sword the allegiance of the states of Brabant and Flanders. They had risen to shake off the yoke of the emperor Joseph, who had deprived them of some privileges, upon the condition of which they had originally put themselves under the protection of the house of Austria. The favourite but ill-judged policy of not yielding to the wishes or claims of the people, whilst a government thinks itself sufficiently strong to resist them by force, was here exemplified in a most striking manner. The brave Belgians, though heretofore too weak to withstand the imperial arms, were too spirited to abandon their claims to their rights and privileges. They persisted in demanding in peace, what they could not obtain by war. After the taking of Mons all was fear and confusion at Brussels. The French emigrants, and every dependent upon the court, were at one time on their flight: the latter had secured whatever boats, horses, and carriages they could, to transport themselves and their effects: and the dread of falling into the hands of the patriots had completely cleared Brussels of every one who had avowed and supported the principles of the confederated princes against the republic. The archduchess Mary removed with the court to Ruremonde, whilst her husband, the duke of Saxe Teichen was with the army. In her flight she left a melancholy monument of the reluctance with which government yielded to the just voice of the Belgian people; and in it an important lesson to all sovereigns, that to withhold the rights of their people, is to destroy at once their own power and authority. She addressed two dispatches to the Belgian people: one of

them to announce her intention of holding her court at Ruremonde; the other to communicate to them the confirmation of the charter of their liberties, called the *Joyeuse Entrée*. She assured them of his majesty's intention to *make justice always the basis of her reign*, and that he had therefore empowered her to declare, that he would inviolably maintain the Brabantine constitution, and the *Joyeuse Entrée*. An earlier attention to this justice might have increased the regret of the Brabanters at the departure of the archbishops, and mitigated their joy at the arrival of **Dunourier**.

The rapid and successful progress of the French arms seems to have electrified all the friends of liberty throughout Europe, with a sympathetic stroke. The cause of France was made common with every complaint of grievance, and the unwillingness to examine and correct abuses in government was considered as an open federacy with the enemies of the French revolution, to oppress the general cause of civil freedom. Throughout the Belgian provinces the reluctance and tardiness of the emperor to admit and confirm the Brabantine constitution, found a quick and palatable remedy in the success of the cause of France; whilst the patriotic party in Holland sought in the same source an alleviation of their grievances against the power of the Stadholder, which the arms of Prussia had recently increased. In England, particularly at Sheffield, the friends and supporters of a parliamentary reform conceived that they beheld, in the success of the French arms, a sure earnest of their own free choice, as well as that of their fellow citizens, in the free members of a free parliament.

But to return to the new legislators. The conquest of Savoy afforded a temptation, which the convention was not possessed of wisdom or fortitude to resist. Contrary to all their former professions of a disinterested zeal for the liberties of mankind, this injudicious and feeble assembly converted it into an eighty-fourth department, and thus by one false step lost the confidence of Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independence of France. The decree which renounced conquest, and which limited the operations of war to the simple principle of self defence, was worthy of an enlightened age and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honour of that body which enacted so just and politic a law. To depart from that principle degraded a free people to the level of despotic states, and was

at once the fullest proof of the dishonesty or the weakness of the national convention \*.

The incapacity of the convention was also soon evinced by their ungrateful and unworthy treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might be fairly said, had forfeited their confidence by adopting and avowing principles diametrically opposite to those on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government. But against Luckner there was no specific charge. Yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the country; the most atrocious falsehoods were asserted concerning him; and finally, he was dismissed the service. General Dillon had agreed to an armistice with the prince of Hesse, when the national convention chose to believe that he might have made prisoners of the Hessians; for this he was denounced and accused, though he afterwards had sufficient address to procure a reversal of the decree. General Montsquieu was one day dismissed from his command, and the next he was reinstated in it. In a word, such was their absurd conduct, that they scarcely left the republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer whom they could trust. Great care ought to be observed in investing an individual with the chief command; but, when it is entrusted to him, a considerable share of confidence should always accompany it. No man will risk his life, his happiness, his reputation, without the prospect of a brilliant reward: and if, after the most meritorious services, a military character is to experience nothing but ingratitude and detraction, his views will soon be turned into an opposite direction to that of patriotism; they will soon be directed to self-preservation and private emolument, and he will think rather of securing a comfortable retreat than of exposing himself in a contest where he has every thing to lose and nothing to gain.

The convention was scarcely assembled, when its peace was disturbed by the appearance of factions the most disastrous to the country. On the 25th of September, La source denounced Robespierre and Marat as aspiring to the dictatorship, and they were at the same time charged, and upon apparently not the worst grounds, with being indirectly at least concerned in the horrid massacres on the second and third of September. It should be mentioned to the honour of the convention, that a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts relative to the massacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Partisan

\* An Impartial History of the French Revolution.

mob deterred them from prosecuting the inquiry as strict justice demanded. The minister of justice, Danton, gave in his resignation on being elected a member of the convention. Roland requested permission to do the same, but retained his office for some time longer, at the request of the convention. The statement of the finances by the minister Claviere was clear and able. He recommended economy in the various departments, and, with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries. The war minister, Servan, soon after resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

It would be an abuse of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to register decrees too insignificant to be remembered. Those which were enacted against the emigrants are of more importance. On the 9th of October it was decreed, "that all emigrants taken in arms should be put to death twenty-four hours after they had been declared guilty, by a military committee; and that all foreigners, since the 14th of July, 1789, had quitted the service of France, and entered into that of the enemy, should be considered as armed emigrants." The severity of this decree was, however, exceeded by that of the 12th of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed 'reputed emigrants,' or those not immediately engaged in hostilities.

By a further decree of the 27th, those unfortunate emigrants, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the bosom of their country, were ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and the penalty of death was awarded against such who should fail instantly to obey. Whatever apologies may be urged from the peculiar and critical situation of France, in favour of these decrees, they will scarcely be such as completely to satisfy the friends of freedom. The confessors of liberty, like the martyrs of Christianity, should be rather prepared to suffer than to commit injustice. They should never permit a *principle* to be violated; and as their only object, their only plea, is the happiness of mankind, that happiness should not be invaded in a single instance, if possible, by themselves.

Another decree it is necessary to notice, as it has excited more attention than almost any other proceeding of the national convention, and has, perhaps, made them more enemies in foreign countries than any measure which they could have adopted. We allude to the decree of *fraternity*, of the 19th of November. The circumstance, in which this imprudent resolution originated, was an insurrection in the bailiwick of Darmstadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with the French nation.

tion. The people, headed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district, had declared their wishes to be united to France, and solicited her protection against their former master. To have acceded to the request, would have been acting agreeably to the law and practice of nations; but with their usual enthusiasm, and without deliberation, the convention, or rather the galleries, passed, by acclamation, a decree in the following terms: "The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering in the cause of liberty."

It will here be proper to give a particular account of the triumphs of Dumourier, who repaired to Paris to concert measures for the winter campaign, and after a stay of only four days, returned to the army to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Austrian Netherlands. From the period when the siege of Lisle was raised, the Austrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. Within their own territories, however, they determined to make a serious stand, and there they began to collect their scattered forces. The first resistance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Bossu, which is situated about a league from the since celebrated post of Jemappe. At this place the general represents the enemy to have taken an excellent position, but they were unable to withstand the excellence of the French artillery, and the ardour of the dragoons. The Austrians were in number from eight to ten thousand; and they had one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred taken prisoners; the French lost only twenty. This action took place on the 4th of November, and the Austrians were so little in expectation of an attack at that time, that the officers had just prepared a very splendid banquet, which the French, arrived just in time, took possession of. From Bossu Dumourier proceeded, early the next morning, towards Mons, and soon came in sight of the enemy, strongly posted to the heights of Jemappe. Their right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river; and their left by thick woods. Three rows of fortifications were observed one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, upon which were mounted nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore trusted his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the ground was so entirely in favour of the enemy, that he must probably have been defeated. Here the enthusiasm of the French



French character proved an excellent auxiliary to the skill of the general. The army, which was principally composed of young men, had been long ambitious of a close engagement. The general secretly favoured the design, but he restrained their ardour only in the hope of increasing it. The French passed the night within sight of their adversaries. At seven in the morning, a very heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, and continued till ten without much effect on the part of the French, which confirmed the general in his sentiments with respect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to pursue. As he went along the bottom of the line, the troops testified the utmost impatience to charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general, however, contented himself with ordering colonel Thuvenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carignon (which was necessary to enable him to assail Jemappe on that side), and, at the same time approaching the batteries, to produce greater effect.

At noon the French general determined on a close attack. The number of the French who formed for this purpose amounted to about thirty thousand, and the Austrians are computed, at the lowest, to have been upwards of twenty-four thousand, three thousand of which were cavalry. The right wing of the French, consisting of the van guard, was commanded by generals Bournonville and Dampierre; and the centre by generals Egalité, Stettenhoffe, Desportes and Drouet. The infantry formed almost instantaneously, and the general presenting himself in the front of the line, the music, by a signal previously appointed, began to play the celebrated Marseillois song. The soldiers, thus encouraged, rushed impetuously on with shouts of "Vive la Nation!" and joining in the chorus of the favourite tune. The first line of redoubts was instantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy, however, advancing at this crisis, with a view of flanking the French, the general dispatched young Egalité to repel this attack, and supported him most opportunely by a detachment of chasseurs and hussars. At the same moment some disorder appeared in Bournonville's cavalry. General Dumourier rallied them himself, and in the mean time the left wing, which consisted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained possession of Jemappe, and the centre carried the second line of redoubts.

After a short resistance on the heights the enemy, at about two o'clock, retreated with the utmost precipitation and disorder to Mons. The French, in this engagement, experienced the most obstinate resistance from the Hungarians,

through whose ranks they would only force their way by cutting down their opponents. The loss of both parties in this action has been differently estimated. It must have been great, for there has seldom been a field more obstinately contested; that of the Austrians must have exceeded the loss of the French, since an enemy who flies in an early part of the day always suffers considerably; but Dumourier probably over-rated their loss in killed and wounded when he stated it at four thousand, as he estimates his own at only nine hundred; and the loss must have been more equal.

The business of this day served to inspire the Austrians with the same respectable opinion of French valour, which was entertained previously and acknowledged by the duke of Brunswick. Some signal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité acquired much reputation; and such was the enthusiasm of all ranks, that Baptiste, Dumourier's valet de chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national guards who had been repulsed.

The victory of Jemappe was decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general instantly summoned the city of Mons, which, on the succeeding morning, surrendered, and was taken possession of by general Bournonville. From Mons Dumourier proceeded to Brussels, which he entered on the 14th of November. On the heights of Anderlech adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thousand men, commanded by the prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a stand, but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Brussels. After a contest of six hours, in the course of which, the French general asserts, an immense number of the enemy were killed, the Austrians followed their main army, and the general entered Brussels in triumph. The moderation and wisdom of Dumourier was equal in every respect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens, that it was his intention carefully to abstain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A provisional legislative assembly was chosen, among whom were the duc d'Ursel, baron Walkiers, and other distinguished patriots.—It would have been happy for France, as well as the Netherlands, if the same system of moderation had continued to prevail.

It is a singular fact that general Dumourier had promised the French ministry that he would keep his Christmas at Brussels. This assertion, which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the state of the enemy, but was, at the moment, regarded as the extravagant boast of a vain-glorious

man, was more than realized, for he anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks.

While these affairs were transacting, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint resistance by the Austrian general Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Ostend was entered by the French fleet on the 15th of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur resisted for a short time, but the former capitulated on the 26th of November to general Miranda, and the latter on the 2d of December to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxemburg only excepted, were subjected to the victorious arms of France before the conclusion of the year.

On the 18th of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teschen, conveying a proposal on the part of general Clairfait for a suspension of arms during the remainder of the winter season. To have acceded to this proposal, and to have disbanded a part of the army, and put the rest into winter quarters, would have been wise conduct in the French, and was that which, there is reason to think, the inclinations of the general would have led him to pursue. He however returned a verbal answer, "that he could only send general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and, in the mean time, should continue the operations of the campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier lost no time in following up his successes, and pursued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the 21st of November he proceeded with an advanced guard of five thousand men to Tirlemont, where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thousand men, on the heights of Cumplich. He attacked with his irresistible artillery this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thousand men, but undertook nothing. At break of day on the 22d, the whole of the Austrians decamped from Tirlemont, after having lost in this action not less than four hundred of their best troops. General Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont, and on the 27th overtook again, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the imperialists, amounting to twelve thousand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them successively from six villages, and at last from an entrenchment. The conflict lasted ten hours, in which the Austrians lost their general Staray, an immense train of artillery, and five or six hundred

dred men killed and wounded, besides innumerable prisoners and deserters. On the following day the French general entered Liege,

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man;—a career which, as is asserted by the general, was only arrested by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. His first victories, he observes, were scarcely announced, before he was publicly slandered and accused in the convention, by the faction of Marat and Robespierre. Under the influence of this party, he supposes the war-minister Pache to have acted, and every criminal means, he asserts, was put in practice to distress and harass the gallant soldiers of liberty. While immense sums were voted by the convention, the army was destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided of mattresses or coverlets, or even of straw to repose on, these brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to sleep upon the wet ground; and some of them, to avoid the evils which must be consequent from such a situation, actually lashed themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept in a standing position. The soldiers were almost literally naked, without coats, without shoes; and their arms were destroyed for want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The consequence was, that numbers of them perished, and still greater numbers deserted and returned home. The general's own words are strong.—“ To retard and crush my successes,” says he, “ the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger.”

If this statement be just, it will be easy to account for the subsequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French in Flanders. The other party, however, have not failed to recriminate on the general, and have asserted that he was bribed to betray the cause of the republic—that he entered into secret and criminal treaties with the king of Prussia, in an early stage of the contest, and solely with a view to his own advantage. He made a wanton sacrifice, it is said, of his own soldiers at Jemappe, by his injudicious disposition of the army on the attack, and afterwards took every means to enrich himself, and injure the public cause. Of these mutual accusations it is impossible to form at present a correct judgment.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Trial and Execution of Louis XVI.*

**I**N order to form a just conception of the origin of the violent proceedings against the deposed monarch, it is necessary to remark, that almost from the first assembling of the national convention, that body was divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earnestly for the sovereign authority. The party which first assumed the reins of government after the deposition of the king, affected a tone of moderation; and either from principle, policy, compact or engagement, intended, we are disposed to believe, to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. The multitude, on the other hand, is always sanguinary; and whoever contemplates the conduct of the French populace, as displayed in so many fatal instances in the course of this history, will be disposed to acknowledge, that either from a hasty or violent spirit, or from the influence of those habits which were acquired under the old government, they have acted on most occasions with more than usual cruelty. Many circumstances contributed to exasperate this infatuated people against the unhappy king. Though other nations may doubt of his guilt in promoting the designs of the counter-revolutionists, no doubt of it was entertained in France. The intemperate revenge of those who had lost near connexions or friends on the fatal 10th of August was not yet satisfied, and a considerable share of the guilt of that day was unjustly thrown upon a single illustrious victim. These passions were industriously cherished by the great movers of faction and sedition; they had acquired a decided majority in the Jacobin clubs who governed the nation, and every thing conspired for the promotion of their views. The Gironde, a moderate party, themselves were reduced to a singular dilemma. If the king was innocent, then they, who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the 10th of August, must have been guilty of the worst of treasons; if he was not innocent, why should he not receive the reward of his delinquency?

The rage of faction had arisen to an alarming excess in the convention itself. The mountain party, or anarchists as they were called, were charged, as we have already seen, with the horrid massacres of the 2d of September, and the Gironde had repeatedly demanded a severe examination into the origin of those atrocious transactions. The intentions

sions of the Gironde in favour of the king were not unknown to their opponents, who were also perfect masters of the public sentiments upon that subject; and therefore the only means that appeared of effecting the destruction of their rivals was to clamour incessantly for the trial and condemnation of the king, as it was evident that in either event they must be finally triumphant: if the king should be acquitted, the charge of inconsistency must inevitably fix upon those who operated the change in the government; if he should be condemned, the views and the engagements of the Gironde must be frustrated.

Such were, in all probability, the motives and intention of Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and the other leaders of the mountain party, in urging the fate of the devoted Louis. It was impossible longer to resist the torrent of popular violence; and, in the beginning of October, the clamours of Marat, Merlin, and other incendiaries, plunged the convention into a series of decrees, the result of which could only be fatal to the king. An extraordinary commission was appointed of twenty-four members, who were authorized to examine and arrange the body of evidence against him. Louis was separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. On the 6th of November Valazé, one of the commissioners of twenty-four, made a report of accusation against the king, the principal articles of which were drawn from an exercise of that very power with which the representative body had legally intrusted him. Acts committed anterior to his acceptance of the constitution were adduced as evidence to prove his intentions of violating it; and the precautions which he took on the night preceding the bloody 10th of August, dictated most probably by motives of personal safety only, were construed into premeditated plots to destroy the citizens of Paris. Some facts, indeed, rested upon rather better grounds of evidence. Papers were produced in proof of the king having remitted sums of money to certain emigrants; but they appeared rather the dictates of compassion towards the distressed, than of treachery towards his country. It appeared also from the same papers which had been found in the Tuilleries, that money had been actually distributed to certain journalists and writers in favour of monarchy; but these are the common, and surely in most cases the venial, practices of courts; and, in the instance before us might be considered as the mere dictates of self-defence.

The question, however, which embarrassed most his accusers was, whether the king was not invested by the constitution

tution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice, he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial. This objection was strangely and most iniquitously over-ruled by the convention, who, in this instance, established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to those *rights of man* which the nation had solemnly proclaimed.

On the 11th of December the ill-fated monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention. The mayor waited on him for that purpose. The king went down stairs by request of the mayor, and at the bottom of the antichamber his uneasiness seemed to increase at the sight of the horses and armed men. Having arrived in the court-yard, he cast a look on the tower which he had left, and his eyes were perceived to be wet with tears. "We afterwards," says M. Albetier the commissary on duty at the temple, "went to the ladies, who seemed to be in the most shocking state of terror; I told Maria Antoinette that the mayor had been with her husband. Young Louis had informed her of it before."—*Queen*. "We know it, but where is he now?"—*Commissary*. "At the bar of the convention. Be not uneasy, a competent armed force have him under protection."—*Madame Elizabeth*. "We are not uneasy, but afflicted; and had you told us sooner, you would have afforded us great consolation." When Louis had returned, and I was left alone, he laid to me, "Do you think they can refuse me counsel?"—*Commissary*. "If the convention grant you one, you will have one; but I cannot prejudge things."—*Louis*. "I am going to consult the constitution." (*Louis went and searched the book*) "yes, the law grants me counsel. But do you think I may have intercourse with my family?"—*Commissary*. "Sir, this I cannot tell neither; but I will consult the council."—*Louis*. "Pray order me my dinner, for I am hungry. I have been fasting almost ever since morning."—*Commissary*. "I will first go to gratify the wish of your heart, by consulting the council; then I will order dinner. (*I returned a moment after*). Sir, I have to inform you, that you are to have no intercourse with your family."—*Louis*--- "But is not that very hard!" "What! not with my son! a boy only seven years old?"—*Commissary*. "Such are the orders of the council."--- Supper was then served up; Louis ate six chops, some eggs, a piece of fowl, drank one glass of Alicant wine, and went to bed immediately after. We then went to the ladies. —*Queen*. "Cannot my husband see his family?"—*Commissary*.

*missary*.---“ No, Madam.”---*Queen*. “ Leave him his son  
“ at least !”---*Commissary*. “ Madam, in the situation you  
“ are in, it is he that is supposed to have the greatest cou-  
“ rage, that ought to bear this privation ; besides, the child  
“ at his age, wants more his mother to take care of him than  
“ his father.”---The ladies seemed very eager to know the  
name of the president of the assembly, but the commissaries  
gave evasive answers.

At three o'clock Louis XVI. preceded and followed by  
large bodies of horse and foot, under the command of General  
Santerre, and surrounded by thirty municipal officers, arrived  
at the bar of the National Convention ; when M. Barba-  
roux, in the name of the committee of twenty-one, brought  
up the articles of impeachment, which were read.---*The*  
*President*. “ I inform the assembly, that Louis is at the  
“ gate of the Feuillans. Representatives, you are about to  
“ exercise the right of national justice: you must answer  
“ to all the citizens of the republic for the firm and wise  
“ conduct which you will pursue on this occasion. Eu-  
“ rope observes you. History records your thoughts, and  
“ actions. An impartial posterity will decide upon your  
“ conduct with an inflexible severity. Let your attitude be  
“ conformable to the new functions you are about to fulfil.  
“ Patience and the profoundest silence are suited to the cha-  
“ racter of judges. The dignity of your sitting ought to an-  
“ swer to the majesty of the French people. It is about to  
“ give, through your organs, a great lesson to kings, and  
“ an example useful to the world.” Louis entered the bar.  
The mayor, two municipal officers, and the generals San-  
terre and Wittenkoff entered with him. *The president*.---  
“ Louis, the *French nation accuses you*. The National Con-  
“ vention decreed on the 3d of December, that you should  
“ be tried by it. On the 6th of December it was decreed  
“ that you should be brought to the bar. The information  
“ declaratory of the crimes imputed to you, is about to be  
“ read ; You may sit.”---Louis sat down.---The president  
stated, that the French nation accused him “ of having, on  
“ the 20th of June, 1789, attacked the sovereignty of the peo-  
“ ple by suspending the assembly of its representatives and  
“ driving them by violence from the place of their sitting.”  
---*Louis*. “ There existed no laws which hindered me  
“ from so doing.”---*President*. “ You have caused an  
“ army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your Ja-  
“ nissaries shed the blood of many of them ; and you did not  
“ remove that army, till the taking of the bastille, and the ge-  
“ neral insurrection taught you the people would be victo-  
“ rious.”---*Louis*. “ I had then the power of marching  
“ any



" my troops where I pleased; but I had no design of shedding blood."---*President*. " After these events, and in spite of your promises on the 15th in the Constituent Assembly, and on the 17th in the Town Hall of Paris, you persisted in your plans against the National Liberty. You, for a long time, eluded the execution of the decrees of the 11th of August, relative to the abolition of personal servitude, feudal regulations, and tithes. You, for a long time, refused to acknowledge the declaration of the Rights of Man; you doubled the number of your body-guard, and called the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; you allowed, in the orgies celebrated in your sight, the National cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be worn, and the nation to be blasphemed. Finally, you brought on the necessity of a new revolution; occasioned the death of many citizens; and it was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises."---*Louis*. " I made what I conceived to be just observations on the two first objects. As to the cockade, that is false—no such thing happened in my presence."---*President*. " You took, at the federation of the 14th, an oath which you have not kept. Soon after, you endeavoured to corrupt the public mind by the help of Talon, who acted in Paris, and of Mirabeau, who was to print a memorial against the revolution, to be dispersed throughout the provinces."---*Louis*. " I do not recollect what happened at that time; but the whole is previous to my acceptance of the constitution."---*President*. " You have spent millions to effectuate this corruption, and you was desirous of making even your popularity a means of enslaving the people."---*Louis*. " I never had a greater pleasure than that of giving to those who had need; this can have no relation to any plot."---*President*. " On the 28th a multitude of the noblesse and the military spread themselves in your apartments in the palace of the Thuilleries, to favour a flight you had long meditated. You wished, on the 18th of April, to quit Paris for St. Cloud."---*Louis*. " That accusation is absurd."---*President*. " But the resistance of the citizens made you feel that their distrust was great; you sought to dissipate it by communicating to the constituent assembly a letter which you addressed to the agents of the nation to foreign powers; to announce to them that you had freely accepted the constitutional articles which had been presented to you; and yet, on the 21st, you fled with a false passport; you left a declaration against the same constitutional articles; you  
 " ordered

" ordered the minister of justice to put the seals of state upon  
 " it. The money of the people was wasted, to ensure the  
 " success of that treason; and the public force was employ-  
 " ed to protect it, under the orders of Bouille, who had for-  
 " merly been entrusted with the conduct of the massacre at  
 " Nancy, and to whom you wrote to take care of his po-  
 " pularity, as it might be useful to you. These facts are  
 " proved by the memorial of the 23d of February, under  
 " your hand; your declaration of the 20th of June, all of  
 " your own writing; your letter of the 4th of September  
 " 1790, to Bouille; and by a note of his, in which he gives  
 " you an account of the expenditure of 993,000 livres  
 " given by you, and partly employed in corrupting the  
 " troops which were to escort you."---*Louis*. " I have no  
 " knowledge of the memorial of the 23d of February. As  
 " to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I refer to  
 " what I said to the commissioners of the constituent assem-  
 " bly at that time."---*President*. " After you was stopped  
 " at Varennes, the exercise of power was, for a moment,  
 " suspended in your hands, and you conspired again. On  
 " the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the  
 " *Champ de Mars*: A letter under your hand, written in  
 " 1790 to la Fayette, proves that a criminal correspond-  
 " ence existed between you and la Fayette, to which Mi-  
 " rabeau had acceded. Division began under these cruel  
 " auspices, and every kind of corruption was employed.  
 " You paid libels, pamphlets, and journals, designed to pre-  
 " vent the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and to  
 " support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of  
 " Septeuil shew what enormous sums have been employed  
 " in these freedom-destroying manoeuvres. What have  
 " you to answer?"---*Louis*. " What passed on the 17th of  
 " July could, in no respect, affect me: of the rest I have no  
 " knowledge."---*President*. " You appeared to accept the  
 " constitution of the 14th of September; your discourses an-  
 " nounced the desire of maintaining it; and you laboured to  
 " overthrow it before it was completed. A convention had  
 " been held at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leo-  
 " pold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenburg,  
 " who engaged to raise up in France the throne of absolute  
 " monarchy; and you was silent on that convention till it  
 " was known through all Europe."---*Louis*. " I commu-  
 " nicated it as soon as it came to my knowledge: as for the  
 " rest, every thing which relates to this object, by the consti-  
 " tution, regards the minister."---*President*. " Arles had  
 " raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it, by sending  
 " three civic commissioners, who were occupied not in re-  
 " pressing

"pressing counter-revolutions, but in justifying their attempts."---*Louis*. "The instructions which the commissioners had, must prove what they were entrusted with; and I knew none of them when the ministers proposed them to me."---*President*. "You have paid your former body-guard at Coblenz; the registers of Septeuil bear testimony to it, and many others signed by you shew, that you transmitted several sums to Bouille, Rochefort, la Vauguyon, Choiseul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the woman Polignac."---*Louis*. "At first when I heard that my body-guard had formed on the other side of the Rhine, I forbade them to touch any pay. I remember nothing of the rest."---*President*. "Your brothers, enemies of the state, rallied the emigrants round their colours; they raised regiments, made loans, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them, till the moment when you saw you could not hurt their projects. What have you to answer?"---*Louis*. "I disowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according to the injunctions of the constitution, and as soon as I had any knowledge of them." *President*. "The Prussians advanced towards our frontiers. Your ministry was summoned on the 8th of July, to give us an account of our political relation with Prussia; you answered on the 10th that 50,000 Prussians were marching against us: and that you gave information of hostilities being actually committed agreeable to the constitution."---*Louis*. "It was only at this epoch that I first knew of it: all the correspondence passed with the ministers"---*President*. "You have entrusted the war department to Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne; and so great was the success of your conspiracy, that the posts of Longwi and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared."---*Louis*. "I did not know that Dabancourt was Calonne's nephew; I did not divest the posts; I could not have permitted myself to do such a thing; if it has happened, I know nothing of it."---*President*. "You retained about your person your Swiss guards; the constitution forbade you to do so, and the legislative assembly expressly ordered their departure."---*Louis*. "I have executed all the decrees which were formed in that respect."---*President*. "In Paris you have maintained particular companies, charged to bring about movements useful to your counter-revolutionary projects--Daigremont and Gilles were two of your agents, and were paid out of the civil list. The acquittance of Gilles, charged with the organization of a company of sixty men, will be presented to you."---*Louis*. "I have no knowledge of the projects attributed to these  
 "men;

"men; never did an idea of counter-revolution enter my head."---*President*. "By considerable sums, you have endeavoured to suborn several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. The letters of St. Leon and others establish this fact."---*Louis*. "Several persons presented themselves to me with similar plans, from which I obliged them to desist."---*President*. "Who are those by whom these plans were presented to you?"---*Louis*. "The plans themselves were so vague that I do not, at this time, recollect."---*President*. "Who are those to whom you have either promised or given money?" *Louis*. "No one."---*President*. "You reviewed the Swiss on the 10th of August, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiss were the first who fired on the citizens."---*Louis*. "I went to view all the troops that were assembled near me on that day; I had the constituent authorities with me, the department, the mayor, and the municipality; I had even requested a deputation of the National Assembly to repair thither, and I afterwards went in the midst of them with my family."---*President*. "Why had you ordered those troops to come to the castle?"---*Louis*. "All the constituent authorities had seen that the castle was threatened; and, as I had a constituent authority, I had a right to defend myself."---*President*. "Why did you send for the mayor of Paris to the palace, in the night of the 9th of August?"---*Louis*. "On the reports which were spread abroad."---*President*. "You have caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed."---*Louis*. "No fir; it was not I."---*President*. "You have authorized Septeuil to make a considerable commerce of grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburg. This fact is proved by a letter from Septeuil."---*Louis*. "I have no knowledge of what you say."---*President*. "Why have you put your veto on the decree which ordered the formation of a camp of 20,000 men?"---*Louis*. "The constitution gave me the free sanction of decrees; and even in that period, I demanded the re-union of a camp at Soissons."

The king was afterwards called upon to acknowledge the papers specified in the accusation, namely, the different memorials of Laporte, Talon, and his letter to the bishop of Clermont. He disavowed them all, excepting some orders for payment for his old military establishment, dated 1791. ---"Here is a day-book," said Valaze, "written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer, from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque."---"This I own," replied

plied the king, "but it consists of charitable donations which I have made."

At his request, and after a very long debate, Louis had counsel granted; when his choice fell upon three distinguished advocates, M. M. Tronchet, Lamoignon-Malesherbes, and Deseze. He had previously applied to M. Target, who excused himself on account of his infirmity.

On Christmas day, the king made his last will and testament, of which the following is the substance, written in his own hand:—"In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, this 25th of December 1792, I Louis the XVIth by name, King of France, having been confined with my family in the tower of the temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and, since the 11th, deprived of all communication whatever with my family, besides which, under a trial of which it is impossible, on account of the passions of men, to foresee the issue, and for which no pretext or means can be found in any existing laws; having only God for witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself, I here in his presence declare my last will and sentiments. I resign my soul to God, my Creator, praying him not to judge it according to my merits, but by his infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ. I pray those whom I have inadvertently offended (for I do not recollect to have wilfully offended any one), or those to whom I may have given any bad example, to pardon me the evil which they suppose I may have done them. I pray all charitable persons to unite their prayers to mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my sins. I forgive with all my heart those who have made themselves my enemies without my having given them any cause; I pray God to pardon them, as well as those who, by a false or misguided zeal, have done me much harm. I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood or otherwise. I particularly beseech the Almighty to look with eyes of mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have suffered so long with me; that it will please him to support them with his grace, if they should lose me, and as long as they remain on this perishable earth. - I recommend my children to my wife; I never doubted of her tenderness for them. I recommend her particularly to make them good Christians and worthy members of society; to learn them to look upon the grandeur of this world (if they are condemned to experience it) as a dangerous and perishable thing, and to turn their thoughts to eternity, as the only solid and dura-

“ ble glory. I request my sister to continue her tenderness  
“ for my children, and to supply the place of a mother, if  
“ they have the misfortune to lose their’s. I beseech my  
“ wife to forgive all the evils she suffers for me, and all the  
“ uneasiness I may have given her during our union ; as she  
“ may be sure that should she think she has any thing to re-  
“ proach herself with, I can never think so.

“ I warmly recommend to my children, after their duty  
“ to God, which must take the lead of all things else, to be  
“ united among themselves; to be submissive and obedient to  
“ their mother, and grateful for all her care and solicitude  
“ for them : I desire them to look upon my sister as a se-  
“ cond mother. I recommend to my son, if ever he has the mis-  
“ fortune to become king, to devote himself to the good of  
“ his fellow-citizens; to forget all hatred and resentment, and  
“ particularly every thing relative to my misfortunes and  
“ griefs; to recollect that he can only further the welfare of  
“ the people by reigning according to the laws; but, at the  
“ same time, to remember that a king cannot cause the laws  
“ to be respected, or do the good he may have in his heart,  
“ unless he possesses the necessary authority; otherwise he is  
“ cramped in his operations, and, inspiring no respect, he is  
“ more hurtful than useful. I recommend to my son to  
“ take care of all those who were attached to me, as far as  
“ the circumstances he may be in may allow him; to re-  
“ member that it is a sacred debt which I have contracted  
“ towards the children or relations of those who have pe-  
“ rished for me, and who have become unfortunate on my  
“ account. I know there are many who were attached to  
“ me, who have not conducted themselves towards me as  
“ they ought, and who have even been guilty of ingrati-  
“ tude; but I forgive them (often in times of trouble and  
“ effervescence we are not masters of ourselves); and I re-  
“ quest my son, if occasions should offer, only to recollect  
“ their misfortunes.

“ I should here wish to testify my acknowledgments to  
“ those who have shewn me a true and disinterested attach-  
“ ment; it, on the one hand, I have been sensibly affected by  
“ the ingratitude and disloyalty of persons to whom, or to  
“ their friends and relatives, I did all the good I could, I  
“ have, on the other hand, had the consolation to see the  
“ gratuitous attachment and interest of many, all of whom  
“ I request, in the present situation of things, to accept my sin-  
“ cere thanks.—I fear to compromise them, were I to speak  
“ explicitly; but I especially recommend it to my son to seek  
“ opportunities to acknowledge their services.—I should,  
“ however, think I should calumniate the sentiments of the  
“ nation,

" nation, were I not openly to recommend to my  
 " Messieurs de Chamilly and Hue, whose true attach-  
 " ment to me engaged them to shut themselves up with me  
 " in this place of confinement, and who thought they might  
 " become victims for so doing. I also recommend Clery  
 " my valet to him, whose care and attention I have every  
 " reason to be satisfied with ever since he has been with me.  
 " I freely pardon those who guarded me in sight for the ill-  
 " treatment and restraints they imagined they ought to ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~me~~  
 " me. I have found some sensible and compassionate  
 " minds: may they have the heart-felt satisfaction of enjoy-  
 " ing that tranquillity to which their way of thinking justly  
 " entitles them. I request Messrs. Maleherbes, Tronchet,  
 " and Deseze to accept my sincere thanks, and warmest ex-  
 " pressions of sensibility, for all the care and trouble they  
 " had on my account. (Signed) Louis."

On the 26th of December the king appeared for the last time at the bar of the convention. The sitting was opened at nine o'clock; and the galleries being crowded with people who had sat in them all night, Mannel moved, that they should be cleared, in order to ventilate the hall: but those who had taken so much trouble to secure seats drowned his voice in a general clamour, and the convention could only obtain silence by deciding that he should not be heard. It was then proposed to call over the names of the members, but this also was dropped. Louis left the temple at nine; and the national guard, not being assembled time enough to line the streets through which he was to pass, or to form a body round his person, he was escorted by a small party of cavalry. The people, not expecting that he would set out so early, were not assembled in the streets, and he arrived as it were *incognito*. At ten he made his appearance in the *judgment-hall* with the same firm and collected air as on the day of his examination. He was attended by his counsel, the mayor of Paris, generals Santerre and Berruyer, and some municipal officers. The president said, "The National Convention has decreed that you shall be heard this day, to present your means of defence." Louis replied, "My counsel is going to speak for me;" when M. Deseze read a defence, which he and his coadjutors had prepared, equally remarkable for solidity of argument and beauty of composition.

" Representatives of the nation; the moment is at length  
 " arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French  
 " people, appears, surrounded by his own counsel, in order  
 " to exhibit his conduct to the eyes of mankind. A cele-  
 " brated republican hath said, that the calamities of kings al-  
 " ways

" ways inspire the minds of those men with sympathy and  
 " tenderness, who have lived under a monarchical form of  
 " government. If this maxim be true, who can invoke it  
 " with more justice than Louis, whose misfortunes are un-  
 " bounded, and whose losses and calamities cannot be  
 " calculated? You have called him to your bar, and he ap-  
 " pears before you with calmness and with dignity, fortifi-  
 " ed in the consciousness of his own innocence, and in the  
 " goodness of his intentions. These are testimonies which  
 " must console him; these are testimonies of which it is  
 " impossible to bereave him. He can only declare to you  
 " his innocence; I appear here in order to demonstrate it;  
 " and I shall adduce the proofs before that very people, in  
 " whose name he is now accused. The present silence de-  
 " monstrates to me, that the day of *justice* has at length suc-  
 " ceeded to the days of *prejudice*. The misfortunes of kings  
 " have something in them infinitely more affecting than  
 " those of private men; and he who formerly occupied the  
 " most brilliant throne in the universe, ought to excite a  
 " still more powerful interest in his behalf. I wish that I  
 " now spoke before the whole nation; but it will be suffi-  
 " cient to address myself to its representatives. Louis well  
 " knows that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon this pro-  
 " secution; but his mind is entirely occupied with France.  
 " He is sure that posterity will carefully collect and examine  
 " the charges and the proofs adduced against him; but he  
 " thinks only of his contemporaries, and it is the first wish  
 " of his heart to undeceive them. If I were only addressing  
 " myself at this moment to his judges, I should say royalty  
 " is abolished, and you cannot pronounce any other sen-  
 " tence against him; but I am speaking to the people. I  
 " shall therefore examine the situation of Louis previous to  
 " the abolition of royalty, and the situation of Louis at its  
 " abolition."—"Nations are sovereigns; they are at liber-  
 " ty to assume any species of government that appears  
 " most agreeable to themselves; after having recognized and  
 " discovered the badness of their ancient form, they may  
 " enact for themselves a new one: this is a position which  
 " one of the counsel of Louis procured the insertion of in  
 " the constitutional code. But the whole nation cannot  
 " exercise the sovereignty; it is necessary, therefore, that it  
 " should delegate the exercise of it. In 1789, the people of  
 " France demanded a monarchical form of government; now  
 " a monarchical government requires the inviolability of  
 " the chief, and this inviolability was established, not in be-  
 " half of the king, but of the nation. Much has been  
 " said on this subject. Some have pretended that it is not a  
 " synallag-



“*synallagmatic* contract, but a delegation. It is, however, a contract until it is revoked; but let it be called a mandate if you please, let it be collected however, that the mandatory is not obliged to submit it to any other conditions, or any other penalties, than those expressed in the letter of the compact. I open the book of the constitution, and in the *second chapter*, which has by way of title *Royalty*; I there find that the king is inviolable; there is not any exception in, nor any modification of, this article; but certain circumstances may occur, when the first public functionary may cease to enjoy this character of inviolability.

“According to the 5th article, *If the king shall not take the oath, or, after having taken it, he retracts, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.*---The nation here hath foreseen a crime and enacted a forfeiture; but there is not a single word to be found concerning either a trial or judgment. However, as without retracting an oath, a king might betray and favour criminal and hostile principles against the state, the nation hath been aware of this, and the constitution hath provided against it.” The 6th article is thus expressed: *If the king places himself at the head of an army, and directs the forces against the nation; or if he doth not oppose himself, by a formal act, to any enterprise of this kind made in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty.*---I beseech you to reflect on the heinous nature of this offence; there cannot be a more criminal one. It supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treasons, all the horrors, all the calamities of civil war; and yet what does the constitution pronounce? The presumption of having abdicated the royalty.---The 8th article says, *That after an abdication, either express or implied, the king shall then be tried in the same manner as all other citizens, for such crimes as he may commit after his abdication.*---Louis is accused of sundry offences. He is accused in the name of the nation. Now either these offences have been foreseen by the constitutional act, and then the correspondent punishment is to be applied to them, or they have not; and if so, it follows that no punishment can follow from their commission. But I say, that the most atrocious of all possible offences hath been foreseen, that of a cruel war against the nation; and this surely includes all inferior crimes, and consequently points out the extent of all constitutional punishment. I know that royalty, being now abolished, deprivation cannot at present be applied. But has not Louis a right to exclaim,---“What! will you, because you have abolished royalty, inflict a punishment on

“ on me, not mentioned in the constitutional code? Because no existing law can punish me, will you create one expressly on purpose? You possess every degree of power, it is true; but there is one species which you dare not execute, that of being unjust!

“ It has been said, that Louis ought to be condemned as an enemy; but is he a greater enemy than if he had put himself at the head of an army in order to act against the nations? And you all know that in such a case, he could not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown! But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right of being tried as a citizen. And I here demand of you, where are those propitiatory forms of justice? Where are those juries, which are so many hostages, as it were, for the lives and honour of citizens? Where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely required? Where is that silent scrutiny, which in the same urn incloses the opinion and the conscience of the judge?---I now speak with the frankness becoming a freeman; it is in vain that I look around, and search among you for judges---I can see none but accusers. You wish to pronounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accused him! Will you decide his doom after having already expressed your opinion on his conduct?---I take up the charges exhibited by you, and I find that Louis is accused of having surrounded the constituent assembly with an armed force on the 20th of June, 1789. Do not you recollect, Frenchmen, that it was he who convoked this assembly; and that but for himself, you would not be deliberating at this very moment on his fate? You have reproached him with the troubles that took place in the month of July in same year; but his only object was to protect Paris against the factious; and you all recollect that, on the 4th of August, the purity of his intentions was fully recognized; as on that day he was solemnly proclaimed *the Restorer of French liberty*; and a medal was ordered to be struck in memory of that happy event! He is next accused of ordering the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles; but at that epoch he was empowered to do so by the constitution.---In regard to the marginal notes to the pretended plan of corruption imputed to Louis, I shall only observe, that his severe probity, his unimpeached morality, and his scrupulous virtue, entirely obliterate every idea of suspicion.---The sinister events, during the month of July 1791, are also imputed to him; but are we to forget, that at this epoch he was a prisoner to the nation, shut up

" in the *Thuilleries*, and cut off from every species of communication whatever ?

" Thus I have repelled all the accusations contained in the enunciative act; and yet I have not made the only essential remark that is necessary on the present occasion; that is, that the acceptance of the constitution hath effaced every former stain---for the compact formed between the French nation and its first director supposes an entire confidence, and oblivion of all injuries whatever.--- Louis is accused also of being dilatory in his communications relative to the convention of Pilnitz; but is it not admitted, on all hands, that this convention acted so secretly, that nothing has ever transpired concerning it?--- As to the neglect of transmitting the decree relative to the re-union of Avignon to France, this cannot be imputed to Louis, for it makes one of the articles of the charge against the minister, M. Delassart."

The limits of this work will not admit the insertion of the whole of this very able speech. With regard to the remaining articles, the advocate of Louis XVI. replied in substance as follows. 1. As to the charge of paying the body-guard after admission, he placed this solely to the account of humanity, and not treason, as it had been insinuated by his enemies. 2. As to the letter to Bouille, in consequence of which it had been asserted, that Louis XVI. had transmitted money to the emigrants, M. Deseze endeavoured to make it appear by the context, that the sum in question was entrusted to M. Bouille before the least suspicion was entertained of that general's principles. And 3. In reply to the imputation of guilt on the 10th of August 1792; he endeavoured to demonstrate, that on that day Louis had not entered into any conspiracy against, nor given any order to fire on the people.

After Deseze had finished, Fermond, the president, asked Louis, if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counsel. Louis rose, and, with mixt sensibility and firmness, said, "Citizens, my means of defence are laid before you. I shall not repeat them. In speaking to you, perhaps for the last time, I declare to you that my conscience makes me no reproach, and that my defenders have told you nothing but the truth. I have never dreaded the public examination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in the act of accusation, the imputation of having wished to shed the blood of the people, and above all, that the misfortunes of the 10th of August are attributed to me. I own, that the many proofs I have given upon all occasions of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have  
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"already conducted myself, appeared to me sufficient to prove, that I did not fear to expose my own person to spare their blood, and to exempt me for ever from such an imputation."

*President.* "Have you any more to say in your defence?" — *Louis*, "No." — *President.* "Sir, you are at liberty to retire."

Louis, attended by his counsel, retired. The assembly remained mute for some time. *Manuel.* "Citizens, I request that the defence of Louis, as well as his accusation, may lie on the table, and that every part of his defence may be printed and distributed within twenty-four hours amongst the members of the assembly; that it be sent to all the departments; that this momentous concern be adjourned for three days; and that, in the mean time, we take the affairs of the nation into consideration."

— *Duhem.* "When this trial is over I shall demand peremptorily that the question be put, whether Louis is to suffer death or not?" — *Bazire.* "I move that Louis be judged before he quits us." The Convention determined that his defence should lie upon the table.

*A member.* "If you do not mean to violate eternal justice, agree to an adjournment. I repeat, that those who make the law cannot superintend its execution, nor give judgment on any man without the most palpable exercise of tyranny. (*loud murmurs*). I carry with me here severe truths, and therefore deserve your murmurs." — *Kersaint.* "We are judges, and not executioners." — *Saint Just.* "It certainly becomes us to make some answer to the defence of Louis, and therefore I move an adjournment of the discussion." *Bourdon and Duhem* insisted that an adjournment was no part of the order of the day; and they were come there to decide, and that they would mark any man who was of a contrary opinion. The president put the question of adjournment, upon which a terrible uproar took place. The people descended from the galleries, approached the table with much rage, and threatened the president. They put themselves into a thousand menacing postures, amidst the acclamations of the galleries, who cried, "To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye!" — In the body of the hall they were cool. President Fermond was firm. It was observed that sixty were drawing up a protest against the adjournment, upon which the president referred to the articles of the Convention which relate to the subject, and order was restored for a few minutes. — *President.* "I demand of the members of the assembly to hear me as tranquilly, as I was calm during a scene which afflicts me." — *Couthon.* "When the people

"delegated you, they created you a trial *ad hoc*, to try Louis Capet. When the legislative assembly, on the 10th of August, found Louis Capet guilty, they were aware that, no constituted authority could try him, and appealed to the people; the people answered by electing you. They therefore created you a tribunal *ad hoc*. Now what have you to do? You have to examine the list of the crimes of Louis Capet, and to hear his defence. You have done it. It now remains to pass sentence. They tell you of forms. It is precisely because you represent the people, that there is no occasion for them. It is possible that some members may want conviction. Let the discussion be opened then, and, quitting every other business, let us unceasingly undertake that of Louis, till definitive judgment be pronounced." Decreed unanimously.

Some amendments to the proposition of Couthon produced very violent commotions in the hall. Petion, Marat, and Legendre, presented themselves to speak. Fresh trouble, invectives, and personalities, interrupt each in his turn, till Petion obtains the hearing by a decree.—*Petion*. "Is it thus, citizens, that we treat the great interests of the state? It is not with these violences, with these passions, that we can judge men or things. It is impossible to get into this tribunal without standing the mark for the most atrocious calumnies. They call out 'the enemy! the royalist!' if we are not of their party; and others speak of liberty. Can we give it to others, if we are slaves ourselves? Who among you is there that wishes for a king?"—[*All the assembly rises, crying, 'No one, no one.'*]—After a speech of some length tending to invite the assembly to a further examination of this important subject, the Convention decreed that the further discussion of the proceedings against Louis XVI. is open, and shall be continued till judgment be pronounced upon him.

The king was in an undress; there was an air of carelessness about his hair and his beard, neither of which seemed to have been of late attended to; but his countenance was unappalled, and his deportment manly. He presented M. Deseze, his new counsel, to the president; and then, upon receiving permission from M. Fermond, whose turn it was to officiate in that capacity, he sat down in a chair at the bar, with M. Tronchet on one side, and M. Maleherbes on the other.

The 16th and two following days were occupied in hearing the members deliver their opinions on the fate of the king. The debates were tumultuous, and the galleries very intrusive, often hissing or approving, as the speakers pleased.

pleased them. The members were divided in their opinion, and were split into upwards of twelve parties. One party was for referring the judgment of Louis to the people in their primary assemblies; but the majority seemed to disapprove of the sentence of death being passed on the king; some giving for a reason the certainty of a war with all Europe in consequence of that event—others the injustice of the deed, according to the constitution of 1789, under which Louis acted. They therefore proposed banishment of himself and family, as the alternative—keeping them, however, prisoners until the end of the war. Among this number was the celebrated Tom Paine.

The discussion was fatally closed on the 19th of January. After a sitting of near thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was voted by a small majority of the Convention. The president having announced that he was about to declare the result of their long and important deliberations, a profound and awful silence ensued, while he declared, that out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty were for death, three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war, two for perpetual imprisonment, eight for a suspension of the execution of death till after the expulsion of the Bourbons; twenty-three were for not putting him to death, unless the French territory should be invaded by some foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment. The president concluded in a lower and more solemn tone, and, taking off his hat, pronounced, "In consequence of this I declare, that the punishment decreed by the National Convention against Louis Capet is death."

It was, however, on the best grounds believed, that the majority of the convention were compelled to this unjust measure by the apprehension of becoming victims to popular fury, since a formidable mob was collected who openly threatened by name a considerable number of the deputies, and declared their intention to murder them, if they refused to vote for the death of the king. Many circumstances indeed would induce one to think, that this decision was more the effect of factious fury than of a temperate deliberation, and that the cause of liberty has certainly been impeded by the unprincipled violence of its pretended votaries.

The convention ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account the next day at eleven o'clock, of the measures taken to put it in execution within twenty-four hours.

A letter from the unfortunate Louis, written in his own hand, and expressed in the following terms, was read at the bar of the National Convention by his counsel Deseze. "I owe it to my honour, and my family, not to subscribe to a judgment that accuses me of a crime, with which I cannot reproach myself. In consequence I declare that I appeal to the people from the decision of their representatives, and I request the convention to decree, that mention shall be made thereof in the Procès-verbal.— Louis."

M. Deseze then made an energetic appeal to the convention, in the name of himself and his colleagues, to consider, that by the small majority of *five voices* the punishment of death had been pronounced against Louis, and conjured them not to afflict France by so terrible a judgment. He concluded by invoking eternal justice and humanity to determine the convention to refer their judgment to the people. M. Malesherbes desired till the next day to make such reflections as rushed upon his imagination. M. Tronchet declared it extraordinary, that whilst most of the voters quoted the penal code to justify their judgment, they forgot that the law requires two thirds of the voices for the decision. Notwithstanding these just and humane observations of the king's counsel, the previous question being called, the *appeal* to the people and the observations of the counsel were rejected.

The Spanish court, through the medium of its minister, made a becoming application to the assembly, previous to the passing of the sentence, in behalf of the deposed sovereign; but the reading of the letter was rejected with equal insolence and imprudence.

A melancholy gloom and awful silence superseded the native gaiety of the French capital during the last days of the life of the deplored Louis, as if some future calamity was presaged to that irritable and factious city; while bodies of armed men patrolled the metropolis, the suppressed sighs and the restrained lamentations announced to the thinking world, that a fair appeal to the people would have granted life at least to him, who had suffered the mortification of descending from the station of an exalted sovereign to that of a degraded citizen.

On the 20th of January, the executive council, of which Garrat, the minister of justice, was president, with two other members of the council, and the secretary, set out for the temple, where they arrived at two. Being introduced into the king's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, said, with a faltering voice, "Louis, the executive council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the

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"National Convention passed last night." The secretary began to read the decree: In the preamble, the king is charged with having *conspired against the general safety of the nation*. He was shocked at the idea, and repeated the expression with emotion. The secretary, who had paused, resumed, and the king heard the rest, including the sentence, with calmness. When the secretary had finished, the king took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and desired the minister of justice to present it to the executive council. Garat informed him, that the council would not decide on the subjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the convention, who had already agreed to some of them. He went accordingly, and read to the assembly the paper which the king had given him. It contained a request of a respite of three days, that he might prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God; and for that purpose that he might be freely visited by a person, whose name he would mention to the commissioners; that he might be freed from their inspection during the interval allowed him to live; that he might have free communication with his family; that the National Convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they chose. Finally, he recommended to the generosity of the nation a number of old servants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the pensions he allowed them.

When the minister of justice returned to the temple, he informed the king, that the convention acquiesced in most of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general answer which had been given to that respecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refused*. "Well," said the king, "I must submit." There is something infinitely harsh and revolting to humanity in the refusal of this last request; which there is every reason to believe, from the character and conduct of the king, proceeded from the pious motive which he assigned, and not, as his enemies have suggested, from a weak desire of prolonging a wretched existence. Should it be the fate of any of those men, who rejected this request of the unfortunate monarch, ever to be in similar circumstances, as they will have more need of it than he had, I sincerely hope, says a pleasing writer\*, that they will be allowed more than three days to prepare themselves for eternity.

When the minister of justice had retired, the king gave to one of the commissioners a letter addressed to Mr. Edge-

\* Dr. Moore.



worth, who was the person he wished to attend him in his last moments. Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a protestant clergyman of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman catholic religion, and had established himself in France, where he bred his son as an ecclesiastic, in the faith which he himself preferred. The son recommended himself so much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was chosen by the princess Elizabeth as her confessor; by which means he became known to, and highly esteemed by the king; of which he gave the strongest proof, by sending for him on this awful occasion. The king's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three soldiers, sent by the council of the Commune. The contents of the letter were requesting his attendance; but if he found himself, from apprehension of the consequence, or any other cause, averse to come, entreating him to find another priest who had not the same reluctance. Mr. Edgeworth informed the soldiers, that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and sister were then at a small distance from Paris; he desired Madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, because he saw that lady herself greatly alarmed, and feared that she might communicate her apprehensions to them. Mr. Edgeworth was conducted first before the council in the Temple, and then to the king. On his being introduced, he instantly shewed such marks of respect and sensibility as affected the unfortunate prince so much, that he burst into tears, and was, for some moments, unable to speak: at length he said—"Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed of late to the company of men like you."

After passing some time with his confessor, the king thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The queen, princess Elizabeth, with the prince and princess royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together. No tragic poet ever imagined a scene more affecting than what was realized at this interview. The actors, so lately placed in the most brilliant situation that the world can give—fallen from the summit of human splendour to the depth of human misery. A sister, children, and a wife, in a prison, taking their last leave of a brother, father, and husband, rendered more dear than ever by his past sufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate just awaiting him. "Alas! when imagination pictures the anguish of such an interview," says an ingenious female writer,\* "it is not necessary

\* Miss Williams.

“ to look back upon the former elevation of the sufferers, in order to pity the gloomy transition in his fate! It is not necessary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to suffer death upon the scaffold, was once the first monarch of Europe, and would be led to execution through the streets of his own capital! It was enough to consider this unfortunate person as a man, a husband, a father! Ah! surely, amidst the agonies of final separation from those to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of nature and affection! surely, when we cling to those we love, in the unutterable pang of a last embrace, in such moments, the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of disappointed ambition must be unselfish amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart.”

I shall not attempt to describe the despair of the illustrious sufferers. The queen uttering violent screams, and invoking pity, attempted to force the grates of her windows. She could listen to no words of comfort. No consideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the most violent expressions against the enemies of her husband. In the bitterness of her soul she beat her breast and tore her hair; and being agitated to an inexpressible degree, experienced “all the sad variety of woe.” Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale fell weeping at the king’s feet. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, caught the infectious sorrow, and, in the midst of this heart-piercing scene, found means to escape, and pass undiscovered to the first court, but was stopped at the gate. He cried, he groaned, he supplicated for permission to pass on. Affected by his beauty and his tears, one of the guards asked him, “*Where would you go to?*”—“*I would go*” answered the unfortunate heir of so many kings, “*and entreat the people not to kill papa.*” “*My God! do not prevent me from speaking to them;*” and with his little arms he attempted to overcome the invincible obstacles which opposed him. “*Oh! let me run through the streets!*” added he; “I will go to the districts—I will go to all the sections, and beg for my papa \*.”

This was the first time, since his imprisonment, that the king had been allowed to see his family without witnesses. Dreadful indeed was the moment in which he tore himself from them, although they hoped to see him once more on the following morning. The queen, delirious and convulsed, embraced the king’s knees with so much violence, that two men were obliged to use all their force to tear the king from

\* Ah, laissez moi courir les rues!—j’irai aux districts—j’irai à toutes les sections, demander grace pour mon papa.

her arms. Madame Elizabeth and the dauphin lay extended on the ground at his feet, uttering the most dreadful screams. Madame Royale was laid senseless on her bed. At her age, perhaps, the soul is most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility most exquisite\*.

After his family had withdrawn, Louis remained some time with his eyes fixed on the ground without speaking; then with a profound sigh he said—"This was a dreadful moment†." The misery of his own fate, and that of his nearest relations, did not however engross his mind so entirely, as to exclude all solicitude for the fate of others; he inquired in a most affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for several whom he considered as his friends, and particularly for the ecclesiastics, who had been persecuted with the greatest cruelty; and expressed satisfaction at hearing that many of them had escaped to England‡.

The king passed almost the whole evening in prayer. He undressed and went to bed about midnight, and slept for some hours. When his Valet de Chambre entered his apartment, the next morning, drowned in tears, the king took him by the hand, and said, "*You are in the wrong, Clergy, to be thus affected; those, whose kindness still induces them to love me, ought rather to rejoice that I am at last arrived at the end of all my sufferings.*" He rose at five, and expresses an inclination to hear mass, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council who were sitting in the Temple, of the king's request. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, saying that the usual ornaments and all that was requisite could be procured from a neighbouring church. Mr. Edgeworth, shewing great solicitude that the king should be gratified, one of the commissioners said, he had heard of people who had been poisoned taking the sacrament. To this horrid insinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him that the committee were to procure the host. What was necessary was provided. Mr. Edgeworth said mass, and administered the sacrament to the king; and then mentioned that his family expected to see him before he left the temple. The king, fearing that he had not sufficient firmness for a second interview, wished to spare them the agony of such a scene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight, Santerre came and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing three minutes in private with

\* Anecdotes of the last twenty-four hours of the king's life.

† Ce moment étoit terrible.

‡ Dr. Moore.

his confessor, he came to the outer-room where Santerre had remained, and addressing him, said, "*Marchons, je suis prêt* \*." In descending to the court, he begged the commissioners to recommend certain persons who were in his service to the Commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any farther, he was bidding him adieu. But the other said, his attendance was not over. "What," said the king, "do you intend to adhere to me still?"—"Yes," replied the confessor, "to the last." The king walked through the court with a firm step, and entered the mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the national guards. The king recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death, during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

On his approaching the place of execution, at the appearance of the scaffold, and the guillotine, the fatal instrument of death, each covered with black, he shrunk back with horror; but, collecting himself, he stepped with firmness and composure from the carriage amidst the brutal huzzas of the populace, and the noise of drums and trumpets. He surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noise, he made a motion with his hand for silence which instantly took place†. Then speaking with a raised voice, he said, "I call God to witness, that I die innocent of the crimes of which I have been accused. I love, and have always loved my people, and have made a thousand personal sacrifices in order to render them happy. Indeed, I by no means ascribe my misfortunes to them, but to a *faction* which hath degraded France in the eyes of the Supreme Being and of the whole universe. Vouchsafe, O my God! to receive my soul, and grant me that peace, which I have not enjoyed in this world; pardon mine enemies,

\* Let us go; I am ready.

† It has been said, that the serenity which the king shewed at his death, did not proceed wholly from the support he derived from religion, but was partly owing to the hope he entertained to the last, that his life would be saved by the people, and that his confessor encouraged him in this hope. "Nothing," says Dr. Moore, "can be more improbable." Had the king entertained any such hope, it must still have been intermingled with fear; and such a state of mind, instead of calmness, was more likely to produce agitation. The whole of his behaviour shews a manly and Christian resignation to a fate which he thought inevitable, and proves that his hopes were removed from earth to heaven. The character of Mr. Edgeworth precludes him from the suspicion of having encouraged a hope, which would have disturbed that turn of mind, which it was his duty to promote and cherish in the king.

"and

"and re-establish good order, tranquillity, and happiness, in my miserable country; it is my last wish. Amen\*."

Santerre, who was on horse-back near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office, before this short but pathetic discourse was concluded; so that the king's voice was drowned in the noise of the drums. Three executioners then approached to seize him: at the sight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, the king, for the first time, shewed signs of indignation, and, as if he was going to resist. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied: he no sooner pronounced this than the king became passive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him and placed him on the guillotine. The confessor then, kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud---"*Son of St. Louis, you ascend to heaven†.*"---The blow was given---Mr. Edgeworth's face was sprinkled with the king's blood. One of the executioners shewed the head to the people, who shouted out, *Vive la nation, Vive la republique!* Those who were nearest the scene, forced themselves between the horses and the military that formed a square round the scaffold, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the king's blood, which ran in copious streams upon the ground. Others smeared the points of their pikes, swords, and bayonets with it, crying out, "Behold the blood of a tyrant!---Thus perish all the tyrants of the earth!" Many of the surrounding spectators at a distance, however, uttered no other sounds but groans and sighs. Eye witnesses assert, that the dukes of Orleans and Chartres were present at the execution. This additional infamy, however, could not much increase the contempt and horror which their unnatural conduct had before inspired‡.

The king's body was carried to the burying of la Magdalaine, and interred without a coffin, or any covering, amongst the Swiss who were massacred on the 10th of August, and those who, through fear and precipitation, occa-

\* Je prends Dieu a temoin, que je meurs innocent des crimes dont j'ai été accusé. J'aime, & j'ai toujours aimé mon peuple, et j'ai fait mille sacrifices personnels pour le rendre heureux; ainsi je ne lui attribue pas mes malheurs, mais bien à une Faction, qui a dégradé la France aux yeux de l'Etre Suprême et de tout l'univers. Daignez, O mon Dieu! recevoir mon ame, et m'accorder cette paix dont je n'ai pas joui dans ce monde; pardonnez à mes ennemis, et faites renaitre le bon ordre, la tranquillité, et le bonheur dans ma malheureuse Patrie; est là mon dernier souhait. Amen.

† Enfant de Saint Louis, vous montez au ciel.

‡ Anecdotes of the king's last hours.

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stoned their own death at the fire works exhibited to the people on account of the king's marriage in 1770. Quicklime was flung over the corpse in order to accelerate its dissolution; and guards were placed to prevent its being taken away in the night. The grave in which the body was deposited was fourteen feet deep, and seven in width. The king's hair was cut off, distributed, and sold to the crowd. He had wished to cut off his hair the day before his execution. Scissars were refused him; they took away his knife. "Fools," said he, "to think I would basely turn my hand against my own life."

During the whole time of the procession it was followed by two armed men, who entered all the coffee-houses, and other places of public meeting, and where every one was drowned in tears, crying out, "Are there yet any faithful subjects who are willing to die for their king?" Such was the general panic, that no one joined them, and they arrived alone at the place of execution, where they escaped amidst the crowd. An association of eighteen hundred well intentioned yet timid people had been formed, who were to cry out for pardon previous to the execution. Of these, however, one only dared to do his duty, and he was immediately cut to pieces by the populace.

Thus ended the life of Louis XVI. after a period of four years detention; during which, he experienced from a great number of his subjects every species of ignominy and cruelty, which a people could inflict on the most sanguinary tyrant. Louis XVI. who was proclaimed at the commencement of his reign the *friend of the people*, and by the constituent assembly, the *restorer of their liberties*---Louis, who but a few years before was the most powerful monarch in Europe, at last perished on the scaffold. Neither his own natural goodness of heart, his desire to procure the happiness of his subjects, nor that ancient love which the French entertained for their monarch, were sufficient to save him from this fatal judgment. He died in the meridian of life, being only 38 years and near five months old.

If any are tempted to arraign the justice of Providence in exposing this prince to such severe misfortunes, they must adore its wisdom in giving him an opportunity of displaying virtues which will command the favour of posterity, and afford to the serious mind the pleasing reflection that his misery terminated with his earthly existence. Adversity seems to have transformed the lazy sensualist into the intrepid sage, and the wretched votary of superstition into the humble, resigned, and pious disciple of Christianity. From the period of Louis's imprisonment to the moment of his decease, he

displayed

displayed a vigour of intellect, and a sensibility of temper which the elevation of his former station prevented him from exercising, or checked in their operation. The will he has left will remain a permanent memorial of his domestic virtues.

Louis XVI ascended the throne on the 10th of May 1774; was driven from Thuilleries on the 10th of August 1792; thrown into prison on the 14th of September, and dethroned on the 21st of the same month.

The *twenty-first* day of the month was singular, ominous, and fatal to Louis XVI. On the 21st of April 1770, he was married. On the 21st of June 1770, the *fete* took place on account of his marriage, when about 1500 persons, lost their lives.---The *grand fete* on account of the birth of the dauphin, was given on the 21st of January 1782.---His *flight to Varennes* happened on the 21st of June 1791.---The 21st of September 1792, was remarkable for the *abolition of royalty*; and the 21st of January 1793, will ever be memorable for Louis's execution.---In the evening, after the king's death, all the play-houses were opened as usual. In the *Theatre de la Nation*, the tragedy of Brutus was acted; and the audience testified their approbation of the following line, by long and uninterrupted plaudits;—"Dicux ! donnèz nous la mort plutot que l'esclavage !"

## C H A P. XX.

*Declaration of war against England and Holland.--General Dumourier is defeated by the Austrians, and abandons the republican cause.*

**U**PON the death of the king, some of the members who had been most active in their endeavours to save his life, immediately resigned their seats in the convention, particularly Kertaint and Manuel. The minister Roland also resigned on this occasion, and for this cause; the war minister Pache was soon after dismissed, and Bournonville succeeded to that department. Soon after the condemnation of the king, M. Pelletier de St. Fargeau, one of the members of the convention, who had voted for his death, was assassinated by a person of the name of Paris, who had formerly been one of the *gardes du corps*. As St. Fargeau was going out

out of a house, where he was accustomed to dine, Paris followed him, and told him he was a villain. St. Fargeau answered that he was not. "You are," returned Paris, "you voted for the king's death."—"I voted," replied St. Fargeau, "according to my conscience." Immediately on this, Paris drew a sabre, and stabbed him in the abdomen. The wound proved fatal; for he died within two hours. It was decreed that the whole convention should accompany the funeral of the deceased in a body, that his name should be inscribed in the pantheon, and his murderer prosecuted. It was also decreed, that the last words of Pelletier should be engraven on the tomb. "I am content to die. *As I have shed my blood for my country, I hope it will tend to consolidate liberty, and make known its enemies.*" M. de St. Fargeau was president of the parliament of Paris, was a very rich man, and, during the constituent assembly, was an aristocrat. The assassin, who appeared to be insane, escaped to the country, where he soon after destroyed himself.

On the first establishment of the revolution, the heart of every Englishman beat in unison with those of the patriots of France. Some imprudent steps of the first assembly lessened the number of its admirers. The horrid massacres of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September, disgraced the name of liberty, which the predominant faction had assumed. But had the convention abstained from imbruing their hands deliberately in the blood of the king, the French nation, perhaps, would not have been involved in a war with Great Britain.

About three days before the king's death, M. Chauvelin, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French republic, wrote the following letter to lord Grenville. "My Lord, I have the honour of addressing myself to you, to beg of you to grant me an interview. I shall proceed to explain the motives of this request, and you will judge of them to be such as will not admit of a delay. I shall first desire of you, my lord, security for my communications with the French government. Whatever may be the character which you acknowledge me to possess, you have at least never doubted of the authenticity of the declarations which I have transmitted to you, in the name of the French nation. I will therefore propose to you, my lord, either absolutely to refuse hearing me, or to give orders for my couriers to be respected, and the secrecy of my letters, as well of those sent as received, to be observed.—I will then, my lord, require to be informed, whether his Britannic majesty will receive my letters of credence; and if he be satisfied with the declarations contained in the paper which I had the honour of transmitting



"meeting to your lordship last Sunday. I have not only  
 "received fresh orders from the executive council of France  
 "to insist upon a speedy and definitive answer; but there is  
 "yet another reason which urgently presses for the decision  
 "of his Britannic majesty. I have just learnt, that the law  
 "relating to foreigners obliges them to make their declara-  
 "tion within ten days after the 10th of January; and in  
 "case of any foreigner, who is amenable to this law, ne-  
 "glecting or refusing to make such declaration, the magis-  
 "trates of this country would be authorised not only to re-  
 "quire him to do so, but even to imprison him. I know, my  
 "lord, and all those who understand the rights of nations  
 "know it also, that I cannot be implicated in this law. The  
 "avowed and acknowledged organ of a government, which  
 "executes laws to which twenty-five millions of men have  
 "submitted themselves, my person is, and ought to be sa-  
 "cred; and even under my diplomatic character, I could  
 "not be ranked among the general common class of foreign-  
 "ers, until his Britannic majesty should have definitively  
 "rejected the letters of credence, which he knows I have re-  
 "ceived for him.--But had I been implicated in this law, I  
 "owe to the government of a free and powerful nation  
 "which I represent, this declaration, that it would be im-  
 "possible for me to submit to it; and that all the persecu-  
 "tions which it might please his Britannic majesty to make  
 "me endure, would fall upon the French nation, in whose  
 "cause and for whose sake it would be my glory to suffer.  
 "---After this candid declaration, my lord, thinking myself  
 "entitled to an equal sincerity on your side, I will desire of  
 "you, in the conversation which I solicit, to inform me,  
 "what is the conduct which his Britannic majesty's minis-  
 "ters mean to hold with respect to me, and with respect to  
 "the persons who compose my household, in consequence of  
 "the law against foreigners. I have the honour to be, &c.  
 "F. CHAUVELIN."

To this letter lord Grenville made a speedy reply.---"Sir,  
 "I have already apprised you, that his majesty has reserv-  
 "ed to himself the right of deciding according to his judg-  
 "ment, upon the two questions of acknowledging a *new*  
 "*form of government* in France, and of receiving a *minister*  
 "accredited on the part of *some other authority* in France than  
 "that of his most Christian majesty. In answer to the de-  
 "mand you now make, whether his majesty will receive  
 "your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that  
 "under the present circumstances his majesty does not think  
 "proper to receive them.---The request you make of me  
 "is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official  
 "communication,

“communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known as minister of his most Christian majesty.---Nothing then remains for me to say relative to the subject of your former letter, particularly after what has just now happened in France, than to inform you, that as an agent, charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the necessary measures taken by us to secure your letters and couriers; that as minister of his most Christian majesty you would have enjoyed all those exceptions which the law affords to public ministers, properly acknowledged as such; but that, as an individual, you can only be considered amongst the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

“GRENVILLE.”

In a short time after this letter, lord Grenville signified to Mr. Chauvelin the order of council for his departure.

Intoxicated with their successes in the Netherlands, and inflamed with pride and resentment, on the 1st of February, upon the motion of Brissot, the National Convention decreed a declaration of war against this country and Holland, in the following terms.---1. In the name of the French nation, the National Convention declares, that it is at war with the king of England, and the stadtholder of Holland. 2. The National Convention charges the executive council immediately to put in action all the forces of the republic. 3. The National Convention authorizes the executive council to dispose of the naval forces of the republic, as the interest of the state may seem to require, and revokes all previous laws to a contrary effect.

“The court of London,” said Brissot, “is determined on war. You can no longer entertain any doubt of it. Our ambassador is dismissed, armaments are raised against us, and all French citizens, residing in or coming to England, are subjected to the most inquisitorial vexations, and dangerous formalities. An embargo has been laid on our vessels, and a squadron sent into the Scheldt, to interrupt our operations in the low countries. Let one idea, therefore, electrify your souls. Remember you fight, not merely for yourselves, but for every nation in Europe. Let the trader forget his commerce to become a privateer; and let those, who can furnish corn and other provisions, renounce all speculation, and carry plenty into our markets. Let every citizen be ready to march, like a Roman soldier, not only with his arms, but also with provisions for a given time. Let Frenchmen compose but one great army. Let all France be one camp. Let us prepare for ruins and misfortunes, and accustom ourselves to live

“without those comforts, which we once might have deemed necessary. The moment is approaching, when it will be a crime for one citizen to have two coats, whilst one single brother or soldier shall be unclothed. A declaration of war against England, is, at the same time, a declaration of war against the stadtholder, who, during the whole course of the revolution, has favoured the emigrants and Prussians, and treated with insolence the French government, and now, joining his vessels to those of England, again favours our enemies, in restraining the importation of corn into France.”

In consequence of this declaration, general Dumourier proceeded with a large body of troops to invade Holland, exhorting the Batavians in a violent manifesto to reject the tyrannic aristocracy of the stadtholder and his party, and to become a free republic.---“Batavian people,” said he, “the stadtholder, who, upon republican principles, ought only to be your captain-general, and who should exercise only for your happiness the powers with which you have invested him, in subordination to the will and decisions of your republic, holds you in oppression and slavery. You perfectly understand your rights, You attempted in 1787 to reconquer them from the ambitious house of Orange. You had then recourse to the French nation; but as at that time France groaned under the despotism of a perfidious court, you became the sport of the intriguing miscreants who then governed France. A handful of Prussians sufficed to replace the yoke upon you, commanded by that same duke of Brunswick whom I have since chased from Champagne. Some of you have been victims to the vengeance of your despot.---Some have sought for refuge in France. Since then every hope of liberty was no more, until the period of a revolution, the most astonishing which the history of the universe ever presented, sustained by success the most glorious, has given to you, in the French, allies powerful, generous and free, who will second your efforts for liberty, or who will perish with you. Batavians, it is not against you that the French republic has declared war. We enter Holland as friends to the Dutch; but as irreconcilable enemies to the house of Orange. Its yoke appears to you too insupportable for your choice to be doubtful. See you not that this demi-despot, who tyrannizes over you, sacrifices to his personal interest the most solid interests of the republic. Has he not, in 1782, engaged you to break, with dishonourable perfidy, the treaty of alliance concluded with us? Since then has he not constantly favoured the Eng-  
“lish

“ lish commerce at the expence of yours? Does he not, at  
“ this moment, surrender to the perpetual rival, the only  
“ nation you can dread, the most important establishments,  
“ the Cape of Good Hope, the isle of Ceylon, nay, the  
“ whole of your commerce with the Indies? No; you  
“ will never regain your rank among the first maritime na-  
“ tions until you shall have become free.---The first who  
“ unite themselves under the standard of liberty shall receive,  
“ not only the certainty of those places which they occupy  
“ in the service of the republic; but promotion, and at the  
“ expence of the slaves of the house of Orange. I enter  
“ among you, surrounded by the generous martyrs of the  
“ revolution of 1787. Their perseverance and their sacri-  
“ fices merit your confidence and mine. They form a  
“ committee, which will increase speedily in number. This  
“ committee will be very useful in the first moments of your  
“ revolution, and its members, with no ambition but to be  
“ the deliverers of their country, will re-enter the different  
“ classes of social order whenever your National Conven-  
“ tion shall assemble. I enter your territories at the head  
“ of 6000 Frenchmen, free and victorious. Sixty thou-  
“ sand more are defending Brabant, ready to follow me if I  
“ meet with resistance. We are, by no means, the aggress-  
“ sors. The Orange party has long waged against us a  
“ secret and perfidious war. It is at the Hague that all the  
“ attempts have been plotted against our liberty.---We  
“ shall seek at the Hague the authors of our woes. Our  
“ wrath and our vengeance are only for them. We will  
“ pass through your rich provinces like friends and brothers.  
“ You will see the difference of proceeding between free-  
“ men who offer you their hands, and of tyrants who in-  
“ undate and devastate your country. I promise the peace-  
“ ful husbandman, whose harvests are sacrificed to the ter-  
“ ror of the tyrant, to indemnify them by the sale of their  
“ possessions, who have ordered the fruitless inundations. I  
“ promise also to deliver into their hands, and to their just  
“ vengeance, the persons of those wicked functionaries, ma-  
“ gistrates, or military commanders, who sha'll have order-  
“ ed those inundations. However, to avoid all the ruin  
“ they occasion, I exhort all the inhabitants of the country,  
“ by the sentiment of liberty they have within them, to op-  
“ pose them; and I will closely follow up my proclamation,  
“ to support the brave and punish the wicked.---Batavians!  
“ have confidence in a man whose name is known to you,  
“ who has never been wanting in what he promised, and  
“ who is leading free men to battle; before whom have fled,  
“ and will flee, the Prussian Satellites of your tyrant. The

"Belgians call me their deliverer; I hope speedily to be yours.---*The General in Chief of the Army of the French Republic*, DUMOURIER."

The states-general of Holland issued a counter-declaration, in which they combated that of the French commander, and pointed out the fallacy of his assertions and the danger of his designs. "A writing," said they, "so filled with the grossest falsehoods and absurdities, as well as the most atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been published in a similar conjuncture. On examining with attention the contents of this proclamation, every attentive reader will, like ourselves, find it difficult to persuade himself, that it can in reality be ascribed to him whose name it bears; to a man who has the reputation of being enlightened and intelligent, and who makes a profession of "uprightness and morality."---The Dutch every where made the most vigorous preparations for defending themselves, and the English cabinet seconded their efforts by an immediate embarkation of troops, to the command of which the duke of York was appointed.

In the mean time, monsieur, the late king's brother, issued a proclamation at Ham in Westphalia, declaring himself regent of France during the minority of his nephew; and soon after the *dauphin* was proclaimed king of France, under the title of Louis XVII. at Coblentz, and acknowledged as such by the king of Prussia and the emperor.

In the beginning of March, as if the nation was not already sufficiently embarrassed, the convention added one more enemy to the combination against them, by declaring war against the king of Spain.

The subjugation of the United Provinces seems to have been the favourite project of the French general. When we consider the vigour, ability, and success, with which at the head of a desperate and undisciplined militia, he repulsed the armies of Austria and Prussia, when we attend him at the battle of Jemappe, and, through the conquest of the Netherlands, we are compelled to admire his talents, and to applaud his heroic conduct. The struggles between the aristocracy and the stadtholder, which have divided the inhabitants of Holland from the foundation of the republic, and the disgust which had been excited by the interference of Great Britain and Prussia in favour of the latter, inspired him with the hope of raising dissensions among the people he was marching to subdue. No sooner had the National Convention given a sanction to his measures, by a declaration of war, than the easy surrender of Breda and Gretruydenberg encouraged him to boast, that he would terminate

the

the conquest by a speedy approach to Amsterdam. A train of circumstances, however, soon interrupted the victorious career of Dumourier, and evinced to mankind the uncertainty of military success. The garrison of Williamstadt withstood every effort of the French arms, and Dumourier was obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving the conduct of the siege to the discontented Batavians, and the volunteers who followed his regular troops.

Scarcely had Miranda sat down before Maestricht, and summoned the governor to surrender, when prince Frederic of Brunswick arrived to its assistance, defeated the enemy, and saved him from the danger. The Austrians awakening from the inactivity into which they were plunged, surprised the French in Aix-la-Chapelle, drove them from the city of Liege, and the bishop of that district returned in triumph to his palace, before the deputies of this new department could arrive at the place of their destination. But the generalissimo of the commonwealth still remained unsubdued; he rallied around him the scattered battalions he had so often led to conquest and honour, and resolved to make a final stand against his successful antagonists. But fortune still continued to frown on the arms of France; the forces of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked Dumourier, who had but a few months before driven the same troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He saw with mortification and dismay the laurels of Jemappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont. On the 14th of March, the imperialists advanced from Tongres towards Tirlemont, by St. Tiron, and were attacked by general Dumourier successively on the 15th and the following days. The first attempts were attended with success. The Austrian advanced posts were obliged to retire to St. Tiron through Tirlemont, which they had already passed. On the 18th a general engagement took place, the French army being covered by Dormael on the left wing, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven o'clock in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by the superior numbers, and perhaps by the more regular discipline of their enemies. Dumourier himself, in a letter to general Duval, says of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Newingham, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tir-

lemont. He fortunately withdrew the right wing and the centre, skirmishing from the 19th to the 20th; and, in the night, he took a position on the heights of Cumpitch. Thus the triumph of the Austrians altered the fate of the low countries, and changed the destiny of Europe.

The restoration of the Imperial authority was the immediate consequence of the Austrian victories. When the splendid miseries of royalty attract so much regard, the homely sorrows of the vulgar demand some share of our sympathy. In the course of this contest the inhabitants of the Netherlands have been doomed to feel every sad variety of pain; and change of place is only change of woe. At one moment they were lifted in the embraces of French fraternisers, at another forced to crouch beneath the sword of military violence; at one time compelled to embrace a scheme of anarchy, and, at another, to submit to a system of oppression which violated every principle of genuine liberty and salutary subordination. The possession of these provinces is no longer obtained by multiplied sieges of fortified towns, which contract the extent of warlike operations, and confine their consequences within a narrow sphere; their dismantled cities must yield to the attack of a successful army; and a single battle may bring upon the country a train of calamities which it is as fruitless to resist as it is impossible to escape. Perhaps, however, the conduct of France was more destructive of the domestic repose of the people, and more inimical to the habits they had acquired, and the prejudices they had imbibed, than the most arbitrary acts of their former masters. Their affection for the catholic faith must have inspired them with indignation against those lawless innovators who were substituting a code of infidelity in its stead; the tumultuous assemblies which were summoned together under the auspices of the republic, and the rash proceedings by which those meetings were distinguished, must have revived their predilection for those aristocratic tribunals which administered municipal justice with impartiality, however adverse they might be supposed to the progress of political freedom. If the governors of the low countries remember, in the season of returning prosperity, the promises of which they were so liberal on the eve of their late expulsion, it may still be possible to insure a stable and happy constitution to this hitherto distracted territory. In common with every other state on the continent, it retains the rudiments of that feudal system of legislation and policy which the researches of the profoundest inquirers, and the experience of many centuries, have proved to be capable of being reduced into a form of government the most adapted to European

ropean manners, and the most congenial to the present condition of mankind.

Dumourier addressed another letter to Bournonville, dated the 28th of March, in which he gave an account of the retreat of a part of the army under generals Neuilly and Ferrand, who, by the desertion of a great number of volunteers, were obliged to evacuate the city of Mons during the night. General Marasse, military commander of Antwerp, capitulated, and by that method, though not the most honourable, yet indispensably necessary, saved a body of ten thousand men. He added, that colonels St. Clair and Theuvenot were attacked without means of defence; that military convoys were detained at Bruges; that he had dispatched some troops in order to liberate those convoys; and that he had sent forces to garrison St. Omer, Cambrai, and all the places on the line from Dunkirk to Givet. At this period Dumourier described the army as in a state of the utmost disorder, and as not having provisions for more than ten days. He said that the pretended succours of men from the departments of the north consisted only of old men and boys, who, so far from being useful, served only to consume the provisions and increase the confusion. He declared, that if order and discipline were not restored---that if fifty authorities, each more absurd than the other, continued to direct all political and military operations, France would be lost: and he added, that with a small number of brave men he would bury himself under the ruins of his country. He affirmed, that it was impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, might, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. The French general concluded this melancholy representation, with bestowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Austrians, who, he observed, were entitled to the more praise, as from the examples of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. "I have always affirmed," says he, "and repeat, that a *republic* can only be founded on virtue, and that *freedom* can be maintained only by order and wisdom."---Such is the outline of the proceedings which preceded the final defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whose conduct he seems rather to have disapproved than their cause. His great and ambitious mind was affected even to desperation, when he had lost the alluring epithet of *deliverer of nations*, by the rashness of the convention and the irregularity of mobs; and it will perhaps



ong remain a doubt with speculative men, whether Dumourier would not have continued faithful and victorious, if France had seconded his efforts with wisdom and liberality, immediately after the retreat of the duke of Brunswick.

The frequent reproachful addresses to the convention from the general, were at length construed by them into insult and treason. He had been too much accustomed to the stratagems of war and the finess of political transactions, not to be previously informed of the design of the convention to order him a prisoner to their bar. When the commissioners of the northern army therefore came to Tournay with an evident design of founding his intentions, they found him with Madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, surrounded with deputations from the district of Cambray. The interview was violent. Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the Jacobins. "They will ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwel, or a Monk." The commissioners carried the conversation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the extent of his views. "The general then became more explicit; he said that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence---that the volunteers were poltroons, but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the rest," added he, "there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris---it is my fixed intention---and the convention will not exist three weeks longer." The commissioners asked him by what means he would replace the convention? His answer was, "the means are already formed." They asked him whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, "that it was a foolish one: he expected a better from Condorcet: the first constitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable." When they asked him whether he wished to have a king, he replied,---"We must have one." He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negociation with the prince of Cobourg, for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that those negociations with Cobourg and the peace which he wished to procure from France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Jemappe he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. Dubuiffon then proposed to communicate to

to him a plan of a counter-revolution: but he said that his own was better.

The attempt to arrest an able general at the head of his army, did not, it must be confessed, argue a superior degree of wisdom, either in the convention or its agents. As soon as the special commissioners therefore arrived from Paris for that purpose, and announced to the general their intention, he smiled, and assured them "that he valued his head too much, to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal;" and immediately giving the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, he ordered the minister of war Bournonville who was sent to supersede him, and the commissioners, immediately to be conveyed to the Austrian head-quarters at Mons, as hostages for the safety of the royal family. Dumourier, however, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. They were ready to resent to a man the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris, but, when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general had scarcely advanced as far as Cambray before he found his army gradually deserting. The artillery was the first corps that forsook him; and they were almost immediately followed by the national guards. M. Dumourier then harangued the troops of the line; but their reply was, "that though they loved him as a man, and venerated him as a general, they could not fight against their country."

Thus defeated in his plan of a counter-revolution, and finding that no dependence was to be placed upon the majority of the army, general Dumourier, with two regiments of horse, and accompanied by young Egalité and some other officers, determined to make his escape to the enemy at Mons; where, after a dangerous pursuit by a part of the army which he lately commanded, and being shot at several times, he at length arrived safe, at the head of that small party which still retained their fidelity to their fallen commander.

The conduct of general Dumourier has afforded room for many conjectures, and has excited a variety of suspicions. The democratic party do not scruple to assert, that it was long his intention to betray his country, and that he was actually bribed by the Imperialists. These conjectures, however, appear scarcely to be warranted by competent evidence.

dence. No traitor would have fought as Dumourier did on the 18th; and had it not been for the imprudent and absurd proceedings of the convention in denouncing him as an enemy to his country, there is at least a probability that he would still have remained faithful to its cause. The assertions of those who think differently are however strong; and it is not impossible that both motives might have concurred to detach him from the cause of the republic; it is not impossible, that, finding a strong and increasing party against him in Paris, he might be disposed to listen to the advances of the combined powers, and might, in these circumstances, even accept the wages of corruption.—It should have been remarked, that general Dumourier had, previous to his intended march to Paris, established an armistice with the Prince de Cobourg; and his highness had issued a most liberal proclamation, which accompanied the address of M. Dumourier, and which assured the French nation, that it was not his intention to interfere at all in the internal government of France, and that no part of his army should even enter the frontier, unless the general should demand a small body to act under him to support his motions, and to co-operate as friends and brothers in arms.

Amidst this accumulation of external misfortunes, the country of France was, at this period, internally agitated by the most formidable insurrections in different parts. A considerable body of royalists assembled on the bank of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of la Vendée, they assumed the denomination of the Christian army, and were commanded by a person of some note, of the name of Joly. Strong suspicions have been entertained, that the insurgents were secretly assisted by foreign powers.

On the 2d of April, a member of the National Convention enumerated several causes of suspicion against the executive council, and cited distinct charges against the minister Bournoville. In the same sitting the commissioners of the convention at Rochelle announced, that the people of Nantz had made a successful sally against the revolted, had killed twelve hundred on the spot, and captured an equal number. On the same day the popular society of Toulon denounced general Paoli as a supporter of despotism. They alleged that the general, in concert with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardship upon the patriots, and, at the same time, favoured the emigrants and the refractory priests. They demanded that his head should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The convention decreed, that general Paoli and the Procureur General Syndic

Syndic of the department of Corsica should be ordered to the bar, to give an account of their conduct.

It was the 4th of April before the National Convention received the intelligence that the commissioners whom they had sent to seize Dumourier, and to conduct him a prisoner to Paris, had themselves been arrested by that general and sent to the Austrians. On the receipt of this information, the convention decreed a large reward for bringing Dumourier to Paris dead or alive. They took the speediest measures for securing the peace of Paris, and for defending the frontiers. The consternation which the defection of Dumourier had created, was, in some measure, relieved by letters of the 5th of April, from the commissioners of the northern army to the convention, informing them that their country was saved, that the camp of Maulde was disbanded, and that all the troops had forsaken Dumourier. The commissioners added, that relying on the patriotism and activity of general Dampierre, they had appointed him provisionally commander in chief. Dumourier passed through the camp of the army of the Ardennes, consisting of twenty battalions, troops of the line, and volunteers, with a park of artillery which he endeavoured to seduce, but failed in his attempt; and they universally came over to the interest of the convention, after having been exhorted by Becker, aid-du-camp to general Dircmann, to beware of the delusions of their former commander, who only told them they should soon have a king and laws, the better to effect his own ambitious projects.

The misfortunes and abasement of the notorious duke of Orleans, will scarcely be regretted by any. A decree having passed in the convention for the banishment of all the Bourbons, this shameless monster sent a letter to the president, desiring to know whether he, as a representative of the people, could be included in the decree; when such was the indignation even of this factious assembly, that the affirmative resounded from every part of the hall. He was soon after arrested and imprisoned at Marseilles. On the 9th of April the following bulletin respecting him was delivered to the convention. Yesterday morning Philip Egalité, *ci-devant duke of Orleans*, was conveyed to the prison la Conciergerie, where he occupied the apartment which was once destined for the too-celebrated Cardinal de Rohan. It is said, that on entering this apartment Egalité fancied he perceived some partiality, some particular attention towards himself, which might hurt the feelings of his fellow prisoners; and that he in consequence demanded for *Citizen Egalité*, the apartment à la Pistole. This is a particular room

for which ten livres are paid at entrance; the furniture of which consists of a table placed before a window, secured by iron bars, a chair of walnut wood, and a bed furnished with a bundle of straw, covered with mattresses. At one ~~side~~ *sides* are two beams, the superior surface which of is usually stored with morsels of black mouldy bread, left there by malefactors condemned to the galleys, the gallows, or the wheel.

On the 13th of April, a complaint was made to the National Convention, by the council of war of Lille, of the disobedience of general Westermann, whom they charged with having directed his guns against that place. A letter from Valenciennes was also read, stating that all there were pretty much in the same state, and that a council of war had been held at General Farrand's quarters, to take the necessary measures for the defence of the city. The commissioners added, that several letters from the imprisoned deputies and Bournonville had been sent in by an Austrian trumpet, but that the seals had been first broken. Gaudet, one of the intended commissioners for the frontiers, defended himself against an accusation made by Robespierre, of being in the Orleans' plot, and of having communicated with the traitor Dumourier. It was likewise moved, that Orleans should be instantly tried by the criminal tribunal of Marseilles, and that a price should be offered for the head of each of the fugitive Capets.

The violence or the crimes of the notorious Marat, the great leader of the Jacobins, at length produced his accusation and imprisonment. He had the audacity to publish a summons to the people of the provinces to assemble and massacre all the opponents of the Jacobins. This was an instance of effrontery so very insulting, that the Jacobins in the convention could not defend it, and a decree of accusation passed against Marat as an instigator to murder, and he was ordered to be committed to prison in spite of the hisses of the galleries, who wished to be engaged in the horrid business.—The first who were to have fallen a sacrifice were the deputies who *did not vote for the death of the king*. They were to have been previously expelled the assembly. The motion made for this purpose was warmly applauded by the galleries; and, upon a proposal that it should be laid upon and signed by the patriots, a hundred members of that party advanced in a body to the table and gave it the sanction of their names, amidst repeated acclamations of applause from the galleries. Cambon proposed, that the motion with the signatures should be printed and sent to the army, and through the department of the country. Vergniaud, an opposer

opposer of the Jacobins, rose and said, "I shall support this motion; for I think the department ought to know who those are that foment a civil war." This severe reflection upon the Jacobins excited great indignation in the galleries, which was expressed by the most vehement hisses and hootings.

The following address of the Jacobins at Paris to the Jacobin societies in the departments, signed by Marat, as president, occasioned the decree of accusation which was passed against him by the convention. "Friends, we are betrayed! To arms. Dumourier, united with the criminal faction who have supported him, is marching against Paris. Your greatest enemies are in the senate. The counter-revolution is in the government and the convention. There exists that sacrilegious cabal directed by foreign courts. Let us arise. Let us exterminate all the conspirators. Let the departments, districts, municipalities, and all popular societies, unite in the expulsion of all those unfaithful members who betrayed their trust, and who did not vote for the death of a tyrant. Be fully persuaded of this truth, that Paris without you cannot save the republic. The Marseillaise are already on their legs. To arms. Hurry to Paris. No delay. No deliberations, else your country is lost!"—After so gross an insult on the principles of justice, and on the peace and liberty of the representative body, it is surprising that a jury could be found abandoned enough to acquit so notorious a delinquent; but he was too great a favourite with the populace to fall by a legal decision in a city where the multitude are sovereigns. He was acquitted by the tribunal; and his return to the convention was a triumphal entry in which that assembly was highly disgraced.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Declaration of General Dumourier concerning the Duke of Orleans—Brissot and the other Deputies of the Gironde Party arrested—A short Account of the French Constitution—New Calendar—Assassination of Marat—Trial and Execution of the Queen and arrested Deputies—Toulon evacuated—Tobago and St. Domingo taken.*

**U**PON the news of the defection of Dumourier, general Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, assembled his troops, and, in the presence of the constituted authorities, addressed them upon that subject. The soldiers universally testified their adherence to the principles of the revolution, and answered the address of their general by swearing by their arms that they would support the republic of liberty. About the same time, the National Convention received a letter from Dampierre, general of all the forces at Valenciennes, dated the 13th of April; in which he assured them, “that, in a little time, the army would recover that superiority, which it lost only by the treachery of those who commanded it.”

Before general Dumourier left Frankfurt, he drew up the following curious declaration, respecting the report of his connection with the duke of Orleans, which he gave to count Metternich, secretary to the governor of the Austrian Netherlands. “Having been given to understand, that certain suspicions have been entertained against my intentions, and that a pretended intercourse, supposed to exist between myself and Philip d’Orleans, a French prince too well known under the name of Egalité, has been insinuated; jealous to preserve the esteem of which I daily receive the most honourable proofs, I hasten to declare my ignorance that an Orleans faction does really exist; that I never had any connection whatever with the prince who is supposed to be the chief, or who is made the pretext of this faction; that I have never esteemed this Philippe d’Orleans, this Egalité, this French prince of the blood; and, since that disastrous period, when he burst asunder the ties of consanguinity, and violated every known law, by criminally voting for the death of Louis XVI. on whose fate he pronounced his opinion with the most atrocious and unblushing impudence;—since that period, I say, my contempt for him has been changed into a legitimate aversion, which leaves me the wish only of seeing him delivered up to the severity of the laws. As to his sons, I believe

“lieve

"I give them to be gifted with as many virtues, as their father possesses vices. They have effectually served their country in the armies I commanded, without displaying at ~~any~~ the least tinge of ambition. For the eldest of them, I entertain the highest friendship, founded on the best merited esteem."—From Frankfort Dumourier went to Studgard, the capital of the Duke of Wirtemberg's dominions, in Swabia, where he remained for a short time; but he kept a secret his future destination, for fear of the daggers of the assassins, by whom the convention threatened to dispatch him.

The defection of general Dumourier disappointed in its consequences the expectations of Europe. The least result that could be apprehended from so important an event was the entire dissolution of the northern army; but even this effect did not ensue, and, in less than a month, general Dampierre was enabled to restore to order and discipline the disorganized troops, and to lead them to action, if not to victory. On the 8th of May, in a battle near St. Amand, between the combined armies and the French, Dampierre was mortally wounded, and soon after died. His laurels had not arrived at a sufficient maturity to be assailed by the blasts of envy or of faction, but accompanied him in their full bloom to his grave. The effusion of human blood was the principal event of this action; the Austrians are said to have lost 2000 men, the French nearly the same number, but the loss of the English is yet unknown. The serjeant-major of the Coldstream regiment, by name Darley, who was among the wounded, is said to have performed prodigies of valour. Though he had his arm broken and shattered by a ball, he continued to fight with the most animated and determined bravery for near two hours. He put to death a French officer, who made an attack upon him, but at length had his leg broken by another cannon shot, in consequence of which he fell into the hands of the French. The duke of York sent a trumpet on the morning of the 19th, to say that the surgeon who attended him should be liberally rewarded for his trouble, and to request that no expence should be spared in procuring him every comfort that his situation should admit of.

General Custine, commander of the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, informed the convention about this time that he had been grossly insulted by three of their commissioners, and complained that he was accused respecting a letter which he had written to the duke of Brunswick. In what manner the general was satisfied, we are not informed; but that he was, is evident from his acceptance of the command



of the armies of the north, soon after their retreat from the camp of Farnars. The sentiment, however, which he appears to have excited on this occasion, proved afterwards fatal to this able and ill treated officer.

On the 13th of May, general Santerre appeared at the bar of the National Convention, and made this address: "We are ready to set out against the insurgents in the department la Vendée; and to-morrow, and the ensuing days, twelve or fourteen thousand men will march. We have eighty guns, and abundance of ammunition." The general concluded his address in the following manner; "After the counter-revolutionists shall have been subdued, an hundred thousand men may readily make a descent on England, there to proclaim an appeal to the English people on the present war." This was referred to the committee of public safety.

It is now necessary to advert to the revolution, as it is termed, of the 31st of May, when the Gironde, or moderate party, was precipitated from power by the turbulent faction of Marat. The Gironde, in voting for the death of the king, defeated, or, at least, delayed, the execution of that plot which had been formed by their adversaries for their destruction. But as the majority of that party had voted for a suspension of the punishment, this circumstance was artfully employed by the Jacobins in the hope of equally effecting their purposes; and they soon succeeded in rendering the Gironde completely odious to the populace at least of Paris. From the moment in which Marat had been committed to the Abbaye, the deliberations of the legislature had been almost entirely consumed in mutual recriminations. The populace assembled in great bodies, and became more and more riotous and importunate. They expressed their detestation of the present state of things, called out for laws and government, and in the hall of the convention the legislators were insulted by the people of the galleries.

By the address of the president of the convention to the people, which is couched in very strong language, we may perceive how matters were then circumstanced. "The scandalous scene which has just passed convinces me of the truth of a conspiracy which has been revealed to me by many good citizens, who, fearing the poignards of assassins, have refused to make their names public. I shall now developé this plot! Legislators, people, be attentive! Your safety is concerned! The aristocrats, who tremble at their inability to snatch from us our liberty by the force of arms, are now preparing to destroy it by an intrigue carried by gold. They wish to destroy the con-

vention

vention by insurrection. The conspirators, after having prepared the minds of the people by crafty speeches, clothed in patriotic language, have misled the members of the popular societies, of the constituted authorities, and even of the convention itself, so as almost to have persuaded them, that to save the country, a new insurrection was necessary. This insurrection has been organized by clandestine committees. Every thing is preconcerted and arranged. The disorder which they have created in the convention will serve as a pretext for their projected riot. The women too lend their assistance, many of whom have been formed into regiments for this iniquitous undertaking. At the moment when their misguided arms are uplifted for the destruction of their country, they endeavour to persuade us that they are employed in saving it. A prey to anarchy, there no longer remains to France any rallying point. I love the people too well not to use my utmost endeavours to save them from the effects of their own madness; if, in the excess of their blindness, it should happen, that in this chair I should receive their attacks, covered with wounds I will still offer up my prayers for their happiness, and my last words shall be, *Oh, God! preserve the liberty of my country, and pardon those murderers!* they know not what they do. ISNARD."

The departments, at this time, were in a state little better than that of the metropolis. Marseilles seemed to have renewed the plan of a federative system\* of the southern provinces. The sections of that city got the better of the adverse party, and co-operated with those of Bourdeaux. Many of the citizens fled, and a greater number were apprehended and imprisoned.

The sitting of the 31st of May opened at half past six in the morning, and did not close till ten at night; and notwithstanding a most persuasive discourse from Vergniaux, followed by several conciliatory motions from Barrere, and in spite of the firmness displayed by several other members, Robespierre, Marat, and the deputies of the Commune, were finally victorious. A petition was received from the constituted authorities in Paris, demanding that the members of the commission of twelve, with others, to the number of twenty-two, who had been formerly marked

\* The great cities in the south of France, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and Lyons, view the metropolis with a jealous eye. They say they have as great a right to be the seat of government as Paris, and are reported to have been forming a confederacy to lessen the superiority which Paris has assumed.

out (among whom were Huard, Guadet, Brissot, Vergniaux, Genfonné, Barbaroux, the minister Le Brun, and the ex-minister Roland), should be decreed in a state of accusation as enemies to their country. This petition was ordered to be printed. Lanjuinais, and several others, proclaimed that their deliberations were not free; and the galleries in return openly menaced those who opposed themselves to what was called the wish of the city of Paris. A majority of the convention had ordered the committee of twelve to be re-established. The deputies of Paris, in a lofty tone, demanded, that it should be again dissolved. They informed the convention, that the sections of Paris had established, on the night preceding, a Provisional Revolutionary Commune. A majority of the convention was disposed not to recognize the municipality thus established; but they at length were compelled not only to the recognition, but also to permit that the assembly, thus nominated, should grant ~~so~~ four a-day to each of the sans culottes of Paris who should execute its orders, until the general tranquillity should be restored. After this a general federation was decreed for the 10th of August. On the

June 1. following day the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with all the adherents of Marat and Robespierre, were again in motion. The drums beat to arms in every quarter; few persons knew what was transacting, but every man was at his post. At nine o'clock in the evening it was known that another deputation from the municipality was about to repair to the convention, who had adjourned their sittings at five o'clock to eight in the evening. M. le Brun with M. and Madame Roland were put under arrest. Claviere, the late minister of the finances, concealed himself, but wrote to demand that he might be placed under the protection of the law.

On the 2d of June the convention decreed the arrest of all the members of the committee of twelve, Fonfrede and St. Martin excepted. On the preceding evening the alarm bells were rung. When the respective departments heard of the impeachment of their representatives, a considerable ferment took place, and several bodies of men threatened to march to Paris, to restore liberty to the insulated convention; but the apparent though fallacious moderation of the predominant party, and the vigour of their measures to repel the common enemy, served in most instances to appease the resentment of the provinces. The members of the convention ordered under an arrest issued an address to the French people, in which they developé the causes of the

the late commotions in the assembly and in Paris; and their account is as follows: "A law had been enacted which prescribed the formation of committees in the different sections of Paris, destined to watch over foreigners and suspicious people." This law was eluded. Instead of those committees, others were formed in the most illegal manner. These committees created a central committee, composed of one member from the committee of each section. This central committee, after some private deliberations, suspended the constituted authorities, and assumed the title of the revolutionary council of the department of Paris, and also invested itself with a dictatorial power. An extraordinary committee had been formed in the bosom of the convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the constituted authorities, and to cause all persons to be arrested who should be denounced as chiefs of conspiracies. On the 27th of May these revolutionary committees, with an armed force, demanded the suppression of the committee formed by the convention. This request was decreed, but on the next day it was deferred till the committee should have made their report. The revolutionary council of Paris refused to attend the report. On the 30th of May they intimated to the convention their order to suppress the extraordinary committee. Amidst armed petitioners, surrounded by cannon, under continual insults from the galleries, some members decreed the suppression of it. On the famous 31st of May the generale was again beaten, the tocsin sounded, and the alarm-guns fired. At these signals the citizens flew to arms, and were ordered to assemble round the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five members of the convention. The assembly referred this to the committee of public safety, enjoining them to deliver in their report within three days. On the 1st of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council of Paris marched at the head of an armed force to invest the national hall. At night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accusation against the denounced members. The convention passed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to exhibit the proofs of the crimes imputed to the accused members. On the 2d of June the revolutionary council demanded, for the last time, the decree of accusation against the obnoxious deputies. The assembly passed again to the order of the day. The petitioners now gave a signal to the spectators to leave the hall and rush to arms. About noon the generale was

beaten,

heated, the tocsin sounded, more than a hundred cannon surrounded the national hall, and grates were formed to heat balls red-hot; cannon were pointed towards all the avenues; the gates were shut, and the sentries ordered to stop all the members of the convention. Many of the deputies were insulted by the satellites of Marat. The battalions, which several days before should have marched against the royalists, suddenly arrived, and seized on the inner posts of the hall. Assignats and wine were distributed among them. In short, the representatives were imprisoned in their own hall. To avert the rage of the people, it was ordered that the committee of public safety should make their report. Barrere mounted the tribune, and proposed, that the denounced members, against whom no proof of the imputed crimes had been produced, should be invited to suspend themselves from their functions. Some of them submitted to this measure. At length an end was put to the sitting, the president walked out of the hall at the head of the convention, and ordered the sentries to withdraw. The convention reached the middle of the court without meeting any resistance; but being arrived there, the commander of the armed force ordered them to return. The president told him, the convention was not to be dictated to, that it held its authority independent of any other power than the French people, and that they alone had a right to command it. The commander, Henriot, drew his sword, ranged his cavalry in order of battle, and ordered the cannoniers to point their cannon. His soldiers were ready to fire.---The president turned back, the members followed him, and attempted every outlet in order to escape, but every avenue was closed or defended by cannon. At length the assembly, unable to retire, resumed their sitting; and some deputies decreed, that the obnoxious members should be put under arrest at their own houses. On the proposal of Marat, Couthon demanded that Vau-laz and Louvet should be added to that number: some members gave their consent, for the greater part of them did not take any share in those humiliating deliberations. After the decree was signed, a deputation made its appearance, to testify its approbation of the decree, and offered an equal number of citizens as hostages for the arrested members.

After these commotions had subsided, the first step of the triumphant party was to complete the constitution. The national convention, on the 23d of June, issued a declaration of the rights of man, as a preface to their new form of government, which is contained in thirty-five articles.

It states, "that the end of society is the general happiness; that the rights of man are equal liberty, safety, and the protection of property; that a free people know no other motive of preference in their election to offices than virtue and talents; and that the law is the protection of liberty, and justice its rule." A few days after the publication of this declaration, they announced the completion of the new constitution of France, which had been discussed article by article, and passed as the constitutional act within the space of a fortnight. It consists of 120 articles arranged under general heads, of which the following are the most important: "The rights of a citizen are acquired, as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged person, or adopting a child. The sovereignty of the people is next proclaimed. The primary assemblies are composed of two hundred citizens at the least, and six hundred at the most, of those who have been inhabitants for six months in each canton. The elections are made by ballot or open vote, at the option of each voter. The suffrages upon laws are given by yes or no. Of the national representation the population is the sole basis. There is one deputy for every 40,000 individuals. The French nation assemble every year on the first of May, for the election. The legislative body holds its session for a year, and its first meeting is the first of July. Its members cannot be tried for the opinions they have delivered in the national assembly. The executive council is composed of 24 members, for which the electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body choose the members of the council from the general list. Civil justice is administered by justices of the peace elected by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law. They conciliate and judge without expence. Their number and their competence are determinable by the legislature. The justices of the peace are elected every year. The general face of the republic is composed of the whole people. All the French are soldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council."---In this constitution the elections are too frequent; and, however visionary politicians may flatter themselves, nothing is more likely to establish an aristocratical interest in republican governments than frequent elections. The choice of representatives then, from the

frequent occurrence of the circumstance, becomes a mere matter of course; election dwindles to a kind of *congé d'elire*, and the appointment in time becomes hereditary.

On the 23d of May, after a very severe conflict, in which the English troops, under the command of the duke of York suffered considerably, the French were dislodged from their camp at Famars, which they had fortified with great labour and ability. "After some time spent in cannonading," says sir James Murray, in the dispatch, "two divisions of hussars passed the river Ronelle without opposition at a ford at Merthe. His Royal Highness ordered the brigade of guards, two battalions of Austrian infantry, six squadrons of British and two of Hanoverian light cavalry, to pursue the same route, in order to take the batteries in flank, and secure a passage for the rest of the troops. This movement had the desired success; the enemy retreated from all their posts, falling back upon a redoubt which they had thrown up upon the commanding heights, behind the village of Famars. General Ferraris, after cannonading some time, attacked on his side, and carried the intrenchments by assault. The troops of the different nations displayed the utmost firmness and intrepidity in this arduous undertaking. Seven pieces of cannon, and near two hundred prisoners were taken in the redoubts. Some squadrons of French cavalry coming up at this time, and threatening the flank of infantry; though superior in number, they were attacked with the greatest valour by the regiment of Hanoverian Garde de Corps. The contest was of the severest kind; the squadrons mixed with one another, and the French were defeated, though not without considerable loss to the Garde de Corps; the regiment had, upon that and other occasions, three officers killed, one taken, and four wounded, and 67 killed and wounded, non-commissioned officers and privates. The rest of the Hanoverian troops lost about 35 men killed and wounded. His Royal Highness advanced, with a part of the troops, to a hollow way within a small distance of the works; but observing, from the disposition of the enemy, that they could not be carried at that time without considerable loss, from which no proportionable benefit would arise, he thought it better to defer the attack till next morning at day-break, approaching and turning them in the night. The enemy, apprehensive of the consequences of such a movement, abandoned the works as soon as it was dark, and withdrew into Valenciennes. This important position was then occupied by his Royal Highness,

“ Highness, who was soon after joined by the rest of his column. It appears that the French generals, foreseeing they could not defend the passage of the Ronelle, and unwilling to risk the event of a decisive engagement, in so confined a situation as that between the Ronelle and the Scheldt, made early preparation for retreat. They passed the Scheldt, and were seen marching towards Denain. Captain Craufurd, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness, observing a column of baggage, which was proceeding towards the river, took two squadrons of the 11th regiment of light dragoons, though the convoy was at that time rather in the rear of their own works, and attacked and dispersed the troops who escorted it, killed and wounded between fifty and sixty, took fifty-six prisoners, and eight waggons and thirty horses. The enemy advanced in force from the camp, and attempted to cut off this detachment; they however effected their retreat with the loss of only three men killed and three horses. General Clairfait, upon his side, attacked and carried the heights of Anzain, a post of the utmost consequence, which to a certain degree, overlooks the citadel of Valenciennes, and which completes the investment of the place.” By this event the garrison of Condé and Valenciennes were left to their fate.

Some time previous to this period, the flames of war had reached the West Indies, when the first efforts of the British arms were crowned with success. The island of Tobago was taken by a British Squadron under the command of Sir John Laforey, about the beginning of April; and, encouraged by the disputes which existed between the royalists and republicans in Martinico, admiral Gardner attempted a descent upon that island also, and landed there with about three thousand men. But having found, on his arrival, the opposite party too strong, he was obliged to re-embark his troops. The happiness of extensive colonial territories, however, is perhaps incompatible with the nature of republican governments; they are generally exposed to the rapacity of needy delegates from the parent state, or permitted to preserve a precarious independence by their own exertions, plundered as the price of protection, and spared only when neglected.

On the 22nd of July the garrison of Menta yielded to his Prussian majesty. The troops marched out with all the honours of war, under an express engagement not to serve against the allied powers for one year. They had long been in want of every necessary, and particularly of medicines; and a considerable number had been forced to subsist entirely on horse-flesh, and the most unwholesome food. The latter



end of June and the beginning of July, were chiefly distinguished in the north by some petty skirmishes between the two grand armies. The latter part of July was marked by some successes of more importance to the Allies. The garrison of Condé, after sustaining a blockade of three months, surrendered on the 10th by capitulation to the prince of Cobourg; and Valenciennes on the 20th of the same month to the duke of York. The capture of this last place was at last unaccompanied with that bloodshed which was generally imagined would have attended it. From the obstinacy of the French commander it was presumed that he would have risked those horrors which must inevitably have attended the storming of the place; but by listening to the terms of capitulation proffered by the duke of York, he averted these calamities, without injuring his own reputation, or the honour of the garrison. On the surrender of Valenciennes, a considerable detachment of the army under the command of his Royal Highness, directed their march towards Dunkirk, forcing the French posts at Turcoin and Lincelles. The attack of the latter afforded the British troops an opportunity of displaying their valour and discipline. After the forces of our Dutch allies had been repulsed with loss in their endeavour to dislodge the enemy, a body of the guards, consisting of little more than a thousand men, defeated and dispersed near five thousand of the French. This exploit, performed by comparatively raw soldiers, may be justly considered as one of the most brilliant actions of the war, and strongly evinces the courage and perseverance of our countrymen.

The French camp at Ghivelde, was abandoned on the approach of his Royal Highness, and he was almost immediately enabled to take the ground which it was his intention to occupy during the siege. On the 24th of August he attacked the out-posts of the French, who with some loss were driven into the town. In this action the famous Austrian general Daun and some other officers of note were killed. The succeeding day the siege might be said regularly to commence. A considerable naval armament from Great Britain was to have co-operated in the siege, but by some neglect admiral Macbride was not able to sail so early as was expected. In the mean time the hostile army was extremely harassed by the gun-boats of the French; a successful sortie was effected by the garrison on the 6th of September; and the French collecting in superior force, the siege was raised on the 7th, after several severe actions in which the allied forces suffered very considerably. General Mordaunt was afterwards distinguished by the convention for not

not having improved his success to the best advantage, as it is asserted that he had it in his power to capture almost the whole of the duke of York's army. In the retreat upon the night of the 6th of September, his Royal Highness prince Adolphus and the Field-Marshal were, for a short time, in the possession of the enemy. A patrol of cavalry, which ought to have been in their front, having taken another road, they went into the village of Rexpoede, through which none of the columns was to pass, but which was then occupied by the enemy. His Royal Highness was slightly wounded with a sword upon the head and arm; but no bad consequences followed.

The French, after this event, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic under general Jourdain, who succeeded Houchard, with such vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immense loss, to abandon his position and repass the Sambre. It was some time before the allied forces were able to stop the progress of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Ostend, they probably prevented the low countries from once more becoming subject to France.

The forces of the republic were still more eminently successful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of la Vendée. General Biron repulsed the army of the insurgents from Luçon on the 28th of June. But with that inexplicable impetuosity and rashness which characterises all their proceedings, the general had scarcely announced his success before he was suspended from his command, and placed under arrest. General Biron was succeeded by general Beysser and afterwards by Lechelle. It would be tedious to enter on a minute detail of this petty war, let it suffice to say that these unfortunate insurgents made a most vigorous resistance to every effort of the convention, till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed.

The disaffection of the southern provinces which immediately followed the revolution, as it is called, of the 31st of May, was productive of perhaps more serious consequences to the new government. It is well known that the deputies and people of these provinces, were among the foremost

foremost in the iniquitous transaction of dethroning their  
 king on the execrable 10th of August, 1792. It is therefore  
 something extraordinary that the same men should be among  
 the first to rebel against the authority of the convention.  
 The formidable union which took place under the name of  
*federal republicanism*, between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons,  
 and Toulon, in the course of the month of June and July,  
 seemed to threaten almost the dissolution of the existing au-  
 thorities. A considerable army was however dispatched  
 against Lyons, and that city closely besieged. The Marseil-  
 lions in the mean time opened their gates on the approach of  
 the republican army, and submitted; but the people of Tou-  
 lon entered into a negociation with the English admiral,  
 Lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean,  
 and who, in his proclamation, thus addressed them:—  
 "During four years you have been involved in a revolu-  
 tion which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you  
 a prey to factious leaders. After having destroyed your  
 government, trampled under foot the laws, assassinated  
 the virtuous, and authorized the commission of crimes,  
 they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe  
 their destructive system of every social order. They have  
 constantly held forth to you the idea of liberty, while they  
 have been robbing you of it. Every where they have  
 preached respect to persons and property, and every where  
 in their name it has been violated; they have amused you  
 with the sovereignty of the people, which they have con-  
 stantly held usurped. They have declaimed against abuses  
 of royalty, in order to establish their tyranny upon the  
 fragments of a throne still reeking with the blood of your  
 legitimate sovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the  
 pressure of want, and the privation of all specie; your  
 commerce and your industry are annihilated, your agri-  
 culture is checked, and the want of provisions threatens  
 you with horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful pic-  
 ture of your wretched condition; a situation so dreadful  
 sensibly afflicts the coalesced powers; they see no other  
 remedy but the re-establishment of the French monarchy.  
 It is for this, and the acts of aggression committed by the  
 executive power of France, that we have armed in con-  
 junction with the other coalesced powers. After mature  
 reflections upon these leading objects, I come to offer you  
 the force with which I am entrusted by my sovereign, in  
 order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to  
 crush with promptitude the factions, to re-establish a re-  
 gular government in France, and thereby maintain peace  
 and tranquillity in Europe. Decide, therefore, defini-  
 tively,

tively, and with precision. Trust your hopes to the generosity of a loyal and free nation. In its name I have just given an unequivocal testimony to the well disposed inhabitants of Marseilles, by granting to the commissioners sent on board the fleet under my command, a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town stands so much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain which surrounds you, and to be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed to four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved." In consequence of this proclamation the Toulonese opened their port to the British admiral, as to a protector and deliverer. The standard of royalty was there erected, under the auspices of lord Hood, and the imprisoned Dauphin was proclaimed sovereign, with the constitutional prerogatives enjoyed by his predecessor in the year 1789.

On the 8th of October, the city of Lyons surrendered to general Doppet. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but several of them were afterwards taken and executed. The convention provoked by the resistance of the inhabitants, decreed that this great city, which for extent, and the magnificence of its buildings is exceeded only by Paris, should be destroyed, and that even the name of Lyons should be obliterated from the republic; that the grand edifices, the churches, convents, the palaces of the nobility and rich merchants, should be reduced to a heap of ruins. The decree runs thus:—"The city of Lyons shall be destroyed.—Whatever was inhabited by a rich man shall be demolished.—The poor house, the dwellings of slaughtered and proscribed patriots, the edifices specially designed for industry, and the monuments\* consecrated to humanity and public instruction shall alone remain.—The name of Lyons shall be effaced from the lists of the towns of the republic. The re-union of houses preserved shall henceforth bear the name of *Ville Affranchie*†. A column shall be raised upon the ruins of Lyons, to attest to posterity the crimes and punishment of the royalists of that city, with this inscription:—*Lyons warred against Liberty; Lyons is no more.*—The city of Lyons was supposed to contain one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. Its trade in fine silks and velvets was the most extensive of any city in Europe.

Amidst these serious and dreadful events, the French endeavoured to support the principles from which their public

\* Hospitals and schools.

† Freed town.

Seasons flowed, by feasts in imitation of the Greeks and Romans; in which, instead of gods and goddesses, they use personifications of powers and qualities; and by the fabrication of an almanac, in which events and dates are marked not by any terms or epochs that have any reference to God, or to religion, but by signs or terms drawn from natural objects; and aera taken from important discoveries, an moral and political revolutions. According to the new calendar, the year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to national festivity, and called on that account *sans-culottides*. Each month is divided into decades, and the day of rest is appointed for every tenth day instead of the seventh. The year commences on the 22nd of September; and they give their months the following names:

Names of months.

English.

Term.

AUTUMN.

Vendémaire

Vintage month from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21

Brumaire

Fog month

Oct. 22 to Nov. 20

Frumaire

Sleet month

Nov. 21 to Dec. 20

WINTER.

Nivos

Snow month

Dec. 21 to Jan. 19

Pluvios

Rain month

Jan. 20 to Feb. 18

Ventos

Wind month

Feb. 19 to Mar. 20

SPRING.

Germinal

Sprouts month

Mar. 21 to April 19

Floreal

Flowers month

April 20 to May 19

Prireal

Pasture month

May 20 to June 18

SUMMER.

Messidor

Harvest month

June 19 to July 18

Ervidor

Hot month

July 19 to Aug. 17

Fructidor

Fruit month

Aug. 18 to Sept. 16

SANS CULOTTIDES, AS FEASTS DEDICATED TO

Les Vertus

The Virtues

September 17

Le Génie

Genius

September 18

Le Travail

Labour

September 19

L'Opinion

Opinion

September 20

Les Récompenses

Rewards

September 21

The

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called *La Sans Calottide*; on which there is to be a national reno-  
vation of their oath, "to live free or die." The days of  
these decades are called, from the Latin numerals, 1 Primidi.  
2 Duodi. 3 Tridi. 4 Quartidi. 5 Quintidi. 6 Sextidi.  
7 Septidi. 8 Octodi. 9 Nonodi. 10 Decadi, which is  
to be the day of rest.

About the same period a decree was passed, ordering all  
foreigners born in those countries, with which the republic  
was at war, under arrest, and their property to be in the  
custody of the public accountants till the end of the war.

The incendiary Marat, did not long survive, to enjoy his  
triumph in the convention. On the 13th of July he was  
assassinated in his own house, while in the bath, by the hand  
of an enthusiastic female of the name of Charlotte Cordé,  
a native of Caen, and who appeared to have some connexion  
with the deputies of the Gironde party. She had come from  
the interior of France for the purpose of executing this  
deed; and after she was arrested she gloried in it, and declared  
that she would die with pleasure after having rid the world  
of a monster!—As soon as the account of his death trans-  
pired, the section of the Theatre François beat the general,  
and put itself under arms. She continued to display the same  
spirit of heroic firmness and resolution to the last moment of  
her life; being asked by her judges, who were her accom-  
plices?—she answered,—“ I have none—no person has  
“ prompted me to perform the good action which I have  
“ done, and if people will but take pains to examine into all  
“ the events preceding and subsequent to the death of Marat,  
“ they will be easily convinced that a true republican soul  
“ like mine could solely be excited by her own impulse, to  
“ free her country from its most dangerous enemy.”  
Fauchet, the accused member of the convention, was after-  
wards confronted with her in court; his bewildered monastic  
look formed a most singular contrast with the figure which  
the resolute Charlotte Cordé made. Being asked if Fauchet  
had not introduced her into the tribune of the convention?  
she flatly denied the charge, saying,—“ I did not esteem  
“ him enough for that: I have known him at Caen, as you  
“ may know any man that passes by you in the streets.”  
Sentence of death was at length pronounced on her, and she  
suffered execution with the same courage. She refused the  
assistance of a priest in her last moments. She addressed the  
following letter to her father from the prison of the Concier-  
gerie:—“ My respected father, peace is about to reign in  
“ my country.—Marat is no more!—Be comforted, and bury  
“ me in eternal oblivion. I am to be judged to-morrow.

"the 17th, at seven o'clock in the morning. I have lived long enough, as I have achieved a great exploit. I put you under the protection of Barbaroux and his colleagues, in case you should be molested. Let my relatives find my homage here; and remember, each and all of you, that crime begets disgrace and not the scaffold."

The funeral of this notorious anarchist was celebrated with the greatest pomp and solemnity. All the sections joined in the procession, some with their colours, but all of them with their standards. An immense crowd of people attended it. Four women bore the bathing machine in which Marat was standing when he was assassinated; his shirt, stained with blood, was carried by another Amazon at the top of a pike; after this followed a wooden bedstead, on which the corpse of Marat was carried by citizens. His head was uncovered, and the gash made by the knife of the assassin could be easily distinguished. The procession paraded through several streets; and was saluted on its march by several discharges of artillery. At half past ten o'clock at night, the remains of Marat were deposited in a grave dug in the yard of the club of the Cordeliers, between four lindentrees. At the base of his bed of state the following words were inscribed:

*"Marat, the friend of the people, assassinated by the enemies of the people.—Enemies of the country, moderate your joy, he will find avengers!"*

That Marat was an enthusiast, is beyond dispute; and whether he was any other than a pernicious mad man still appears a matter of doubt; he must at least have been impelled by some other motive than avarice, since he is said to have died poor. This, however, affords no apology for the atrocities which he provoked or committed; there are but few, therefore, who will probably lament his death, except those who instigated, or at least profited by his crimes. I have been the more particular with regard to the assassination of Marat, because events of this nature, seem to be hastening on a phenomenon in the moral character of nations, which posterity must regard with equal astonishment and detestation; namely the adoption of the mode of privately murdering, as a justifiable means of carrying on public hostilities, and avenging a nation on an open adversary. With difficulty can we assign the motives which could induce one individual to perpetrate such a deed to another. If inflicted as a punishment of past transgressions, it at the same time involves the party who administers it in an equal degree of criminality with the culprit who suffers; and the certainty of a speedy retaliation removes from it, that portion of prolonged safety which is necessary for the complete gratification of revenge. Yet the religious madman may deem it a summary

mary mode of calling upon heaven to do justice between himself and his adversary; and the supposed good of his country may persuade the political enthusiast to aim the mortal blow. But no man in his sober senses would attempt, much less justify, so heinous a crime, on any pretence whatever.

In the night between the 1st and 2d of August, two municipal officers repaired to the tower of the Temple, a little before the clock proclaimed midnight, to announce to the captive queen the decree of the convention respecting her removal to the prison of the Conciergerie. Her majesty was in bed. "Must I rise then?" asked she. The officers answered in the affirmative. She then begged them to withdraw, that she might dress herself; and they complied.—When the queen was dressed, the officers searched her, and found twenty-five louis d'ors, which they took from her, besides her pocket book. Her majesty used a thousand entreaties to be permitted either to keep the pocket book, or that they should seal it up, and take a protocol respecting its contents. After many altercations and words, the queen recognized one of the municipal officers to be the same who signified to her last year her separation from the princes Lamballe, when the latter was removed from the Temple to the Hotel de la France. "Sir," said she, "the separation which you announced to me a twelve month ago was very painful; but I find the present not less melancholy." She begged to have an interview with her daughter and Madame Elizabeth. This was permitted, after some hesitation. Madame Elizabeth stepped first into the apartment, melting in tears, bordering on a state of despair, and almost deprived of her senses. They locked each other fast in their arms. Her majesty preserved the most unshaken fortitude in this trying scene. When her royal daughter appeared, she said, "My dear daughter, thou knowest thy religion; thou oughtest to have recourse to its solace in every situation of life." The queen then demanded to see her son. She manifested the most poignant regret and anxiety; but her demand was refused: the officers told her, "your son is innocent, and he will not be hurt." She was conducted to the prison through a narrow passage; very badly lighted, where her treatment was such as would disgrace a civilized people. She was confined in a narrow room or rather vault, of eight feet square, and the couch on which degraded royalty was destined to repose was a hard bed of straw. The graces had all deserted her countenance, and the marks of premature old age seemed to proclaim that repeated sorrows would soon have terminated a life, which



was unnecessarily devoted to the hand of the executioner.— Several were said to be the causes which induced the convention to issue their inhuman decree. It was generally reported, that proposals had been made to the queen some time ago, to save herself and her family by writing a letter to the prince of Saxe Cobourg, to induce that general to withdraw his forces from before Valenciennes. The queen not only refused to accept these proposals, but reminded her enemies of the treatment of her murdered spouse, after he had last year written to the king of Prussia to retreat from the French territory.

On the 27th of August general Custine, after being committed a prisoner to the Abbey, was accused before the revolutionary tribunal of having maintained an improper correspondence with the Prussians while he commanded on the Rhine, and of having neglected various opportunities of throwing a reinforcement into Valenciennes. The French have no distinct notions of the administration of justice; they have no idea of the nature of evidence. To be suspected, is to be condemned. The unfortunate general, therefore, was sentenced to suffer death, and his property confiscated for the benefit of the republic. The people heard the sentence with much applause. Custine lamented, that in the crisis of his adversity, he seemed to be forsaken by every friend. "I have no defenders," said he; "they have disappeared. My conscience makes me no reproach. I die innocent." The next morning he was brought to the place of execution, where he shewed neither the calm resignation of conscious innocence, nor the indignant firmness that men of proud spirits, who have no such consolation, substitute for it. He kissed the crucifix, embraced his confessor, hesitated, used every artifice to gain a few minutes longer time, and at last was brought to the guillotine by force, struggling to prevent the executioners from tying him to the board of the guillotine. He was however one of the most meritorious generals, perhaps, that ever the ungrateful French republic could boast.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of general Custine. Being interrogated as to her names, surnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, she answered, that her name was Marie Antoinette of Lorraine and Austria, aged about 38, widow of the king of France, born at Vienna, finding herself at the time of her arrest in the place of the sitting of the national assembly. The act of accusation consisted of several charges; which, among other things stated, "that by a decree of the convention, of the 1st of August last, Marie Antoinette, widow  
" of

“ of Louis Capet, has been brought before the revolutionary  
 “ tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France ;—that  
 “ an accusation being made of all the pieces transmitted by  
 “ the public accuser, it appears that, like Messalina Brune-  
 “ haut, Frelegonde, and Medicis, who were formerly *quali-*  
 “ *fied with the titles* of queens of France, whose names have  
 “ ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page  
 “ of history, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has  
 “ since her abode in France been the  *scourge and the blood-*  
 “ *sucker* of the French ; that even before the  *happy* revolu-  
 “ tion which gave the French people their sovereignty, she  
 “ had political correspondence with *a man called* the king of  
 “ Bohemia and Hungary ; that this correspondence was  
 “ contrary to the interests of France ; that not content with  
 “ acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and  
 “ the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time mini-  
 “ ster of the finances, with having squandered the finances  
 “ of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people) in a  
 “ dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay  
 “ the agents of her *criminal intrigues*, it is notorious that she  
 “ has at different times transmitted millions to the Emperor,  
 “ which served him, and still supports him to sustain a war  
 “ against the republic ; and that it is by such excessive plun-  
 “ der that she has at length exhausted the national treasury ;  
 “ that since the revolution the widow Capet has not for a  
 “ moment withheld criminal intelligence and correspondence  
 “ with foreign powers ; and in the interior of the republic,  
 “ by agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused  
 “ to be paid out of the treasury of the *ci-devant* civil list ;  
 “ that at various epochs she has employed every manœuvre  
 “ that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring  
 “ about a counter-revolution. . First—She is accused, under  
 “ a pretext of a necessary re-union between the *ci-devant*  
 “ Gardes du-Corps and the officers and soldiers of the re-  
 “ giment of Flanders, of having contrived a repast between  
 “ the two corps on the 1st of October, 1789,  
 “ which degenerated into an absolute orgy as she A. D. 1789.  
 “ desired ; and during the course of which the  
 “ agent of the widow Capet perfectly seconded her counter-  
 “ revolutionary projects, by bringing the greater part of the  
 “ guests, in the moment of inebriety, to sing songs expres-  
 “ sive of their most entire devotion to the throne, and the  
 “ most marked aversion for the people ; of having excited  
 “ them *insensibly* to wear the white cockade, and to tread  
 “ the national cockade under foot ; and of having authorized,  
 “ by her presence, all the counter-revolutionary excesses,  
 “ particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied  
 “ her

" her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests;  
 " and of having, on the 4th of the same month, testified the  
 " most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.  
 " Secondly--Of having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed  
 " to be distributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom,  
 " publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some of  
 " which were pretended to have been published by the con-  
 " spirators on the other side o' the Rhine (meaning, we sup-  
 " pose, at Coblenz), such as *Petitions to the Emigrants--Re-  
 " ply of the Emigrants--the Emigrants to the People--the Shortest  
 " Follies are the Best--the Order of March--the Return of the  
 " Emigrants, and other such writings*:--of having even car-  
 " ried her pe fely and dissimulation to such a height, as to  
 " have circulated writings in which she herself is described  
 " in very unfavourable colours, in order to cloak the impos-  
 " ture; thereby to make it to be believed by foreign powers  
 " that she was extremely ill-treated by Frenchmen, to insti-  
 " gate them to go to war with France."

The different charges ran to a prodigious length. The  
 following is a short abstract of the charges on which the  
 trial turned:—"Marie Antoinette was farther accused, that  
 " being brought to Paris she immediately began to intrigue  
 " with the members of the legislature, and held nightly  
 " meetings with them; that she was accessary in getting bad  
 " ministers appointed, in order that her views might be  
 " assisted; that her creatures were placed in all the public  
 " offices; men, who were known to be conspirators against  
 " liberty; that she was accessary in bribing the members of  
 " the legislative assembly to declare war against the Empe-  
 " ror her brother; that she gave intelligence to the enemy  
 " of the plans of the campaign, as soon as they were deter-  
 " mined on by the council; which was the cause of the many  
 " failures which the French arms experienced; that she  
 " combined with her agents in plotting the overthrow of the  
 " constitution on the 10th day of August, 1792; that on the  
 " 9th of the same month she got a number of Swiss guards  
 " into the Thuilleries, encouraged them to make cartouches,  
 " and animated Louis Capet to order his soldiers to fire\*;  
 " and that the civil war which now rages in France has  
 " been produced by her intrigues."

On the trial a number of witnesses appeared; but few of the  
 charges were substantiated. After the interrogatories were

\* Her enemies assert, that, in order to promote her views, she kept the  
 Swiss guards in a state of intoxication; that she presented the king with a  
 pistol, saying, "this is the moment to shew yourself;" and on his re-  
 fusing, called him coward.

closed, the public accuser reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its constant machinations against liberty, which it did not like, and the destruction of which it sought to compass at any rate; its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn its result to its own advantage, by appropriating to itself this Machiavelian maxim, *divide and reign*!—its criminal and culpable connections with the foreign powers with whom the republic is at open war; its habits of intimacy with a villainous faction, which was devoted to it; and seconded its designs, by exciting in the bosom of the convention animosities and dissensions, by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments against that city; and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of liberty; the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nîmes, Arles, Nanci, in the Champ de Mars, &c. He considered Marie Antoinette, as the avowed enemy of the French nation; as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and to which thousands of Frenchmen had fallen victims.

Chauveau and Tronson du Coudray, officially appointed by the tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themselves of that duty, and solicited the clemency of the tribunal. The queen was then taken out of the hall. After which the president of the revolutionary tribunal addressed the jury in the following terms:—"Citizens of the jury, the French nation, by its organ the public accuser, has accused, before the national jury, Marie Antoinette of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather the instigatrix, of most of the crimes of which the last tyrant of France was found guilty; of having herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign nations, especially with the king of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother, with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes and traitorous generals; with having furnished the enemies of the republic with supplies of money, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the state. A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be lost upon the nations that inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and equality is triumphant. A woman who lately occupied all the most brilliant distinctions, which the pride of kings and the baseness of slaves could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another

" woman, and this equality secures impartial justice.  
 " This trial, citizens, of the jury, is not one of those  
 " where a single fact, a single crime, is submitted to your  
 " conscience and your knowledge. You have to judge  
 " all the political life of the accused, ever since she came  
 " to sit by the side of the last king of the French; but you  
 " must, above all, fix your attention upon the manœuvres  
 " which she never for an instant ceased to employ to destroy  
 " rising liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her  
 " close connexions with infamous ministers, perfidious ge-  
 " nerals, and faithless representatives of the people; or  
 " from without the kingdom, by causing the negocia-  
 " tion of the coalition of European kings; in short, by  
 " her correspondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French  
 " princes and their worthy agents. Had we wished for an  
 " oral proof of all those deeds, the prisoner ought to have  
 " been made to appear before the whole French nation.  
 " The material proof rests in the papers seized in the abode  
 " of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the  
 " national convention by Gohier, one of its members; in the  
 " collection of the justificatory pieces of the act of accusa-  
 " tion passed against Louis Capet by the convention; lastly  
 " and chiefly, citizens of the jury, in the political events  
 " of which you have all been witnesses and judges. If it  
 " were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office,  
 " to give myself up to emotions which the passion of hu-  
 " manity imposes, we should have invoked before the jury  
 " the names of our brothers at Nanci, at the Champ de  
 " Mars, at the frontiers, at la Vendée, at Marseilles, at  
 " Lyons, at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal ma-  
 " chinations of this modern Medicis: we should have  
 " brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives  
 " and infants of those unhappy patriots! what do I say?  
 " unhappy!---they have died for liberty, and faithful to  
 " their country. All those families, in tears and despair,  
 " would have accused Antoinette of having snatched from  
 " them every thing that was most dear to them in the  
 " world, and the deprivation of which renders life insup-  
 " portable. In effect, if the satellites of Austrian despot-  
 " ism have broke in for a moment on our frontiers, and if  
 " they have there committed atrocities of which the his-  
 " tory of even barbarous nations does not furnish a paral-  
 " lel example; if our ports, our plains, and our cities are  
 " sold or given up, is it not evidently the result of the man-  
 " œuvres planned at the Tuilleries; and of which Marie-  
 " Antoinette was at once the instigatrix and the moving  
 " principle? These, citizen jurors, are the public events  
 " which

“ which form the mass of proofs that overwhelms Marie  
 “ Antoinette. With regard to the declarations which  
 “ were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates  
 “ which have taken place, there result from them certain  
 “ facts, which come directly in proof of the principal ac-  
 “ cusation brought against the widow Capet; all the other  
 “ details, given either as a history of the revolution, or in  
 “ the proceedings against certain notorious personages, and  
 “ some treacherous public functionaries, vanish before the  
 “ charge of high treason, which weighs heavily upon An-  
 “ toinette of Austria, widow of the *ci-devant* king.---  
 “ There is one general observation to be attended to;  
 “ namely, that the accused has owned that she had the  
 “ confidence of Louis Capet. It is evident too, from the  
 “ declaration of Valize, that Antoinette was consulted in  
 “ political affairs, since the late king was desirous she  
 “ should be consulted upon some plan, of which the wit-  
 “ nesses could not tell the object. One of the witnesses,  
 “ whose precision and ingenuousness are remarkable, has  
 “ told you that the late duke of Coigny informed her in  
 “ 1788, that Antoinette had sent the emperor, her brother,  
 “ two hundred millions, to enable him to carry on the  
 “ war which he then waged against the Turks. Since the  
 “ revolution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres,  
 “ signed Antoinette, and drawn upon Septeuil, has been  
 “ given to the woman Polignac, then an emigrant; and a  
 “ letter from La Porte recommended to Septeuil not to  
 “ leave behind the least trace of that gift. Leconte of  
 “ Versailles told you as an ocular witness, that since the  
 “ year 1779, enormous sums had been expended at court  
 “ for the fetes of which Marie Antoinette was always the  
 “ idol.”

Here the president went through the charges of the first  
 of October, when an orgy was given by the life-guards---  
 the flight to Varennes---the massacre of the Swiss on the  
 10th of August---and, coming to the conduct of the  
 queen since her imprisonment in the Temple, he concluded  
 as follows: “ The persons whose business it was to super-  
 “ intend in the temple, always remarked in Antoinette an  
 “ air of rebellion against the sovereignty of the people.  
 “ They seized an image representing an heart; and that  
 “ image is a sign of *ralliement*, which was worn almost  
 “ upon all the counter-revolutionists who came within the  
 “ grasp of national vengeance. After the tyrant's death,  
 “ Antoinette observed in the Temple, with regard to her  
 “ son, all the etiquette of the ancient court. The son of  
 “ Capet was treated as a king. In all domestic occur-

rences he had the precedence of his mother. At table he sat uppermost, and was served first. I shall forbear, citizens of the jury, to mention here the interview of the chevalier de St. Louis, of the carnation flower left in the apartment of the accused, of the pricked paper given, or rather prepared, for an answer. This incident is a mere gaol intrigue, which ought not to weigh in such a grand act of accusation. I conclude by a general reflection, which I had already an opportunity of presenting: it is the French nation which accuses Antoinette; all the political events are evidence against her.

"These are the questions, citizens of the jury, which the tribunal has determined to submit to you: 1st, Is it proved that there existed machinations and private intelligences with powerful states, and other external enemies of the republic; such machinations and intelligences tending to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of their arms? 2dly, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-operated with those machinations, and of having entertained those intelligences? 3dly, Is it proved that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic? 4thly, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot and that conspiracy?"---The unfortunate victim was prejudged; and had the evidence been more frivolous, it is probable she would not have escaped. After an hour's consideration, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict --- "*Guilty of all the charges.*"

The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity \* and resignation. Perhaps indeed it might be considered by her less as a punishment than as a release; and whatever might be the foibles of her early years, there is good reason to believe that she died a real penitent, and, like her husband, found in the truths of religion, a source of consolation, of which the malice of her enemies was unable to deprive her.

About half past four in the morning, the  
Oct. 16. queen was conducted from the hall of the convention to the prison of the Conciergerie.

\* When the president asked her whether she had any thing more to say in her defence, the queen's answer was as dignified as it was pathetic. "Nothing: I was a queen and you dethroned me; I was a wife and you murdered my husband; I was a mother and you tore me from my children.---Nothing now is left me but my blood. Frenchmen, drink it---give yourselves with it! all I ask is, that you will not keep me long in pain, but put a speedy end to my sufferings."

At

### *Execution of the Queen.*

At five o'clock the generale was beat. At seven the whole armed force was on foot; cannons were planted on the squares, and at the extremities of the bridges, from the palace to the square de la Revolution. At ten o'clock numerous patrols passed through the streets. At half past eleven in the morning Marie Antoinette was brought out of the prison, dressed in a white *disshabille*. On her right was seated the executioner, and on her left the curate of St. Landry, a constitutional priest, dressed in a grey coat, and wearing what is commonly called a bob wig. The cart was escorted by numerous detachments of horse and foot. Henriot, Ronfin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by the rest of the staff officers, rode before the cart. An immense mob, especially women, crowded the streets, insulted the queen, and vociferated, "Long live the Republic!" She seldom cast her eyes upon the populace; and beheld with a cold indifference the great armed force of 30,000 men which lined the streets in double ranks. The sufferings which she sustained during her captivity had much altered her appearance, and the hair on her forehead appeared as white as snow. The queen without anguish or bigotry was speaking to the priest by her side. Her spirits were neither elevated nor depressed; she seemed quite insensible to the shouts of "Vive la République!"—When she passed through the street called Rue St. Honoré, she sometimes attentively looked at the inscriptions of the words "Liberty" and "Equality" affixed to the outside of the houses. She ascended the scaffold with seeming haste and impatience, and then turned her eyes with great emotion towards the garden of the Thuilleries, the former abode of her greatness. She died in the thirty-eighth year of her age, and her corpse was immediately after buried in a grave filled with quick lime, in the church-yard of the Magdalen, where her husband had been buried in the same manner.

About this time, the royalists were represented as being in the most distressed situation. In la Vendée, formerly the province of Poitou, where their power was chiefly collected, they suffered repeated defeats. It is said that the republicans massacred the chief of those unhappy people who fell into their hands; especially if they had pretensions to nobility, or were possessed of wealth.

The convention having received information from their commissioner at Marseilles, that the English at Toulon had hanged citizen Beauvais Præau, one of the national representatives; such a spirit of indignation was raised against the English, as cannot be easily described. The convention ordered all the English in France to be im-



mediately put under arrest. "The crime is so great," said Barrere, "that it cannot be expunged but by the ruin of that nation."

In the midst of the most serious and important debates of the convention, one of the members rose up, and demanded the abolition of the figures of the kings and queens of hearts, diamonds, clubs and spades, from the cards used in the republic, requiring that figures, emblematical of the *Reign of Liberty* should be substituted in their stead.

All the sepulchral monuments of the kings of France, preserved for so many ages, were now demolished. The place of general interment was the church at St. Denis, about ten miles from Paris. It was the custom to inclose the hearts of the deceased monarchs in a fine vase of silver gilt. These vases were seized by the popular society of St. Denis, who sent word to the convention, that they were of sufficient value to equip a troop of horse.

On the 30th of October, twenty-two deputies of the Gironde party, who had been for some time by a state of arrest, were condemned and executed, by the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal, for treasonous practices against the unity and indivisibility of the French republic. The names of the deputies who suffered on this occasion, were Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Duprat, Valazé, Lehardi, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Duperret, Lafource, Carra, Beauvau, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze. The reader will recognize among these names, several of those who were most active in dethroning the king, and establishing a republic. Valazé, who had prepared the charges against the king, stabbed himself as soon as the sentence was pronounced. Fauchet was one of the constitutional bishops; and Lafource a protestant clergyman. Duchatel, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, and Lehardi, distinguished themselves by their firmness and intrepidity. Brissot\* observed silence, but he seemed as if he still were

\* Brissot was certainly a man of abilities, and indefatigable in the prosecution of his grand object—the destruction of political tyranny, or, under that veil, the acquisition of importance and literary fame. He appears to have had a just sense of the necessity of morals to the preservation of freedom; and, in comparison of other members of the convention, was a good character. He was tall in body, but a very bold man. When the other deputies of the convention walked always abroad with pistols in their girdles, and a cut-throat at their side, Brissot paraded the streets of Paris, though obnoxious to many, with nothing but a little switch.

meditating upon some plot. Sillery saluted the people with much respect, and was accompanied by a confessor. The prelate Fauchet died like a bishop; he conversed very seriously with his confessor. Lasource died, like a grey friar, penitent. In short, thirty-seven minutes were sufficient to strike off the heads of these criminals, to dig a grave for *federalism*, and to leave the remainder of the convention at liberty to carry on their designs a little more at ease.

The execution of the leaders of the moderate party must have satisfied every impartial observer, that the dissensions in the convention are rather struggles for particular aggrandisement than for general freedom; yet by silencing opposition, it produced the appearance of unanimity, and by removing the hope of amendment, inculcated the necessity of submitting to the ruling party. The decided difference of political sentiments may be specified as a reason for the severities exercised against the royalists; but nothing could have induced the other members of this legislature to slaughter colleagues, who, for conduct similar to their own, had encountered similar opposition, but the operation of personal animosity, or the insatiable appetite for power. The articles of accusation preferred against them were numerous and inconsistent: they were at the same time upbraided with desiring the restoration of the monarchy, and by wishing to establish a federative republic; with fomenting the war with England, and seeking to raise the Duke of York to the vacant throne of France. From such absurd contradictions we must conclude, that the disapprobation of the projects of Danton and Robespierre was their chief offence, and the implacable resentment of the ruling faction, the sole motive for their condemnation. They died as martyrs to the cause, for the suspicion of betraying which they suffered; and the ejaculation of "*Vive la Republique*" was the last which breathed from their lips.

The merit of conspicuous talents Brissot and his associates may be allowed to claim; and by their untimely fate they expiated the guilt they incurred by sanctioning the murder of their sovereign. But the patient acquiescence of the French in this measure, is the surest proof of the ignorance of the genuine principles of freedom which prevails among that people. They have seen representatives, freely nominated by themselves, and who

still

*Egalité condemned.*

still continued to enjoy the confidence of these e'ectors, tried by a tribunal instituted by personal enmity, and from thence conducted to the scaffold, without reflecting, that by this proceeding their favourite republicanism is destroyed, and a tyrannical anarchy erected on its ruins.

It has been generally remarked, that no revolution which had liberty for its foundation or its pretext, was ever disgraced by so wanton an effusion of blood, by so many sanguinary executions, such inhuman massacres, so much rancour and persecution of every kind, as the revolution in France. This may in great measure be imputed to the *irreligious principles*, which have unhappily made so fatal a progress in that country. There is nothing but religion that can impart uniformity to the moral character. Where expediency is the only rule of conduct, the human mind will naturally indulge in too great a latitude on some occasions, especially where the passions are strongly interested. This perhaps is the distinguishing circumstance, which marks the two revolutions of America and France. The Americans were possessed of a strong sense of religion; and consequently, though the instances of treachery which occurred among themselves were scarcely less numerous, in proportion, than those of the French, the victims of popular fury were much fewer. They were under a necessity of defending themselves; but, independent of this circumstance, they could not forget that their religion taught them *to love their enemies*: but the majority of the French nation are either, uninstructed in the truths of religion, or have rejected its salutary restraints.

On the 6th of November, Philip Egalité *ci-devant* duke of Orleans, underwent an interrogatory before the revolutionary tribunal. Being questioned respecting his intimacy with Sillery, the deputy lately executed, he answered, "I was attached to Sillery until the moment that I suspected his patriotism; when I did so, I refused any longer to see him."—"You have nevertheless," said the president, "committed the care of your children to his wife, who is now with them abroad."—"Yes," answered Egalité, "but that was at a time when I had no cause to suspect Sillery." He was condemned to death at the same sitting at which he was tried; but with a view to prevent his fate, he promised to make a great number of discoveries, and his execution was in consequence suspended for some hours. But when he found there was no possibility of escaping, he acknowledged that he was the  
author

author of the events of the 5th and 6th of October, and that all his machinations tended to revenge himself on a family whose destruction he had sworn, but whose spoils he never wished to share. He impeached a great number of individuals, particularly Brissot, Dumourier, Marat, and Robespierre, as agents, in his crime; the latter, it seems, had great difficulty in extricating himself on this occasion. He was sentenced to die at two o'clock in the afternoon, and at five o'clock he was conveyed in a cart to the place of execution. The eyes of the people were attentively fixed upon him. The cart stopped by some accident upon the *Place de l'Egalité* before his palace. He surveyed it with much attention, and turned his head to look at it as long as he could. To the exclamations of indignation and curses bestowed upon him by the people he made no reply, nor did he appear much affected by them. When the cart arrived at the scaffold, he jumped upon it first, and immediately laid down his head to undergo that punishment to which he was sentenced. To live despised, and to die unpitied, is the most heavy misfortune which can happen to man; and such a degree of misery is the lot of only the most profligate and abandoned. When, therefore, it is said that such was the situation of Philip Egalité, the severest censure is conveyed which can be passed upon his character. After having long exhibited a portion of folly and wickedness, of ambition and weakness, which rarely combine in forming the same character, in his last moments he appears to have derived some relief from the stings of awakened conscience, in the fond hopes of annihilation; and, with an affected courage, pronounced the period of his death to be the happiest of his existence. Born to protect the kinsman and the king in whose destruction he gloried, and to diffuse happiness over the land he assisted to desolate; in the pursuit of arbitrary power he allied himself to a faction by which he was neglected, contemned, and murdered. The faithful page of history will, therefore, transmit the duke of Orleans to the contempt and abhorrence of every future generation.

About this period, the turbulent peasantry of Catalonia, whose discontent has so often disturbed the repose of the Spanish monarchy, displayed their valour in its defence, by discomfiting the French army on their barren mountains.

It has been already hinted, that the British troops made every possible effort for the protection of Austrian Flanders.

ders, which seemed to be in imminent danger from the attempts of the enemy upon the whole frontier of that province. Anticipating victories, which they never obtained, the French proclaimed their resolution of raising Ostend to the ground, surrounding the allied troops, and terminating the war by a blow. In order to disconcert their schemes, the Duke of York determined to attack the enemy at Menin, upon the 28th of October. General Walmoden, to whom the execution of this design was to be entrusted, went upon the 26th, to Courtray, to take command of the corps which had formerly occupied the camp at Menin. Lieutenant-General Busche took the command of that which had been posted at Mouscron, but which had fallen back to Worcoing. The attack was to be made upon different points by these corps, in conjunction with that of lieutenant Wurmb, which lay at that time in the neighbourhood of Thouroute. Upon the morning of the 27th his royal highness marched with the troops which were encamped before Tournay, to take up the position he had formerly occupied between Beisieux and Cysoing, and which had been left some days before. Different posts, which the enemy had established upon the Marque, were driven back. A piquet of six officers and one hundred and fifty men, which had been posted at the village Saingain, retreated across the plain towards Lazennes; they had nearly reached the last mentioned village when a squadron of the 2d dragoon guards, led on by major Crawford, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness, advancing with rapidity, gained their right flank, and charged them with so much vigour and success, that not a single man escaped; one hundred and four prisoners were taken, and the rest killed upon the spot. The squadron of the 2d dragoon guards had only two men killed, and one man wounded. The other squadron of the queen's dragoon guards, two squadrons of the royals, and a division of the Austrian light dragoons, came up in the pursuit.

In the mean time the enemy had made progress in another part of the country. They had attacked Nieuport, and passed, though only with a small body, the canal of Ypres at Shoorback. In consequence of this lieutenant-general Wurmb had fallen back upon Ghistel, in order to cover Bruges and Ostend. This change of general Wurmb's position rendered abortive the plan which had been formed for the attack of Menin upon the 28th. His Royal Highness therefore, still keeping that important

object in view, sent a reinforcement of three battalions to lieutenant general Busche, who had by this time advanced again with his corps to Mouscron, and dislodged the enemy from that post, of which they had taken possession; and it was determined that the attack on Menin should be made on the 29th, by the corps of general Walmoden and Busche; the former advancing directly upon the town of Menin, the latter upon the right bank of the Lys, against the village and heights of Hallouin. In order to favour this enterprize, by drawing the attention of the enemy to another quarter, the duke of York sent two battalions of Austrian Infantry, and some companies of light troops, under the command of major-general Werneck, and two battalions of British infantry, with one squadron of the 7th and one of the 15th light dragoons, to attack Lannoy, which the enemy had entrenched, and occupied with one thousand five hundred men. Major-general Abercrombie commanded this detachment; and he had orders to expose the troops as little as possible, but to confine the attack to a cannonade, until the enemy should be driven from their post. This plan had the desired success. After resisting some time the heavy and well directed fire of the British and Austrian Artillery, which was gradually advanced to within a very small distance of the town, the French gave way, retiring in great disorder, part of them towards Lille, and part towards Reubay. They were pursued with great spirit by lieutenant-colonel Churchill, at the head of the two squadrons of light dragoons, who killed and wounded near one hundred of them, and took fifty-nine prisoners. Several others were killed and taken by a party of Austrian Infantry, who entered the town. There were taken in all about one hundred and fifty prisoners, and five pieces of cannon, besides several tumbrils and baggage waggons. The killed are supposed to have amounted to between two and three hundred. The loss upon the side of the allies was very inconsiderable; but unfortunately, captain Sutherland, of the royal engineers, an officer of acknowledged merit, was killed upon this occasion; and lieutenant Thornton, of the artillery, lost his arm. The Austrians had eight or ten men killed and wounded. About the conclusion of the affair, accounts were received from general Walmoden, that the enemy had evacuated Menin the preceding night, and that they had the appearance of intending to give up their attack upon Ypres. The march of his Royal Highness from Englefontaine,

Englefontaine, and the subsequent movements of the troops under his command, seemed to have induced the enemy to abandon the enterprizes in which they had engaged on that side of Austrian Flanders, and in which they had been to a certain degree successful.

The garrison of Nieuport, by their skill and courage, laid the country under water, and repelled the enemy in every attack, till the safety of Ostend was provided for by Sir Charles Grey. "On my road thither," says he, "I was met by several persons, with the agreeable intelligence, that the French were retiring, which was confirmed on my arrival. They began their retreat in the night, and a part only of the rear guard was visible at day break this morning. They returned along the road to Dunkirk, setting fire to every thing in their way. I went with major-general Dundas to visit the posts which they occupied, and, from the extent of their encampment, I should imagine that their numbers could not have been less than was represented to us, about eight thousand. What loss they may have sustained during the siege I have no means of estimating: our's, as I have already had the pleasure of informing you, was very inconsiderable. The French have left behind them four twenty-four pounders, and two mortars, as well as a great number of shot, shells, and intrenching tools. The whole were secured, and a great part brought into the town before I left it."

On the 30th of October the town of Marchiennes surrendered to the duke of York. Eight battalions were put under the command of major-general Kray for this enterprize. They marched at midnight from Orchies in three columns, each column headed by two officers and sixty volunteers, supported by three hundred men. These were not permitted to load. The rest of the troops of the different columns, with their cannon followed at some distance. A detachment from the corps of major-general Otter, posted by Denain, marched about the same time, formed in four columns in similar order, that the town might be attacked at once upon all sides. The latter troops were discovered by the enemy's out-posts, and prevented from penetrating by the opposition which they met with. Those under General Kray, one column of which advanced upon the high road from Orchies, and the two others upon the left of it, got, about two o'clock in the morning, within a short distance of the town before they were perceived. The volunteers at the head of the column,

column, which was upon the road, fell in with a piquet about two hundred yards from the gate, which they surprised, killed the greatest part of it, and pursued the rest so closely that they entered the place along with them. The troops in the town made little resistance. After being driven from the market place, where they had at first assembled, they retreated to a convent near it. They there proposed terms of capitulation, which general Kray consented to, as they surrendered prisoners of war, with the sole condition of the officers being permitted to wear their swords. There were one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine prisoners, officers included, most of them troops of the line. There were likewise twelve pieces of cannon, and twenty-two or twenty-three tumbrils taken. About three hundred of the enemy were supposed to have been killed. The loss of major-general Kray's corps was between seventy and eighty killed and wounded.

The gloomy irreligion of France is productive of equal enthusiasm which Mahometan imposture and papal ignorance inspire. In the votaries of all we may remark the same desire of disseminating their opinions, the same resentment against those who presume to dissent, and the same indifference in inflicting and yielding to the stroke of death. Connected with this sentiment, and in the intervals which can be spared from the more serious business of proscriptions and executions, the unextinguishable frivolity of the national character now burst forth with renovated splendour. The erection of temples to modern philosophy, in lieu of those consecrated to the Deity of Christianity, and the worship of Parisian women, arrayed in the insignia of the goddess of freedom, were at this period, the occupations which diversified the toils, and relaxed the cares, of the legislators of France. And the multitude shed their blood on the frontiers, or enjoyed the revels of the metropolis; rejoiced at the guillotine over the lifeless remains of their fellow-citizen, or wept in the theatre at the exhibition of fictitious woe, according to the varying caprice of the dictators by whom they were directed.

In the execution of Madame Roland, the wife of the famous minister of that name, we discover the fury which raged against her husband. She died like the heroine, who had participated her husband's counsels, and advised his measures. Awed by her reproaches into shame, or terrified into the fear of detection by their continuance, her judges at once delivered themselves from remorse, and incurred



secured the prolongation of their jurisdiction, by her summary condemnation. One of them said to her "Innocence shews itself with candour, and crime with impudence." Madame Roland did not disown her connexions with Brissot, Vergniaux, and other deputies who had lately suffered death.

On the 12th of November, M. Bailly, the first mayor of Paris, was executed, pursuant to his sentence, on the Field of Federation, formerly called the Champ de Mars. The red flag, which was the signal of the massacre of the patriots, was tied to the cart's tail, and dragged in the mud. M. Bailly was a man of very superior talents; a member of the far boasted and far famed academy; a great astronomer, and in particular, remarkable for his eloquence. The revolution, though it absorbed in its vortex, and though, with a comet's glare, it attracted to its train men of all ranks, fortunes, and accomplishments, could not boast of a more able adherent than Bailly. He was condemned to die, because he was of the Brissotine party. On the 16th, general Houchard, Manuel\*, late a member of the convention, and general Brunet, at eleven o'clock in the morning, were conveyed in a cart from the Conciergerie, in Paris, to the Place de la Revolution. Houchard preserved a fixed silence during the journey from the prison to the place of execution. He sometimes looked around on the people, who accompanied the procession in great numbers. Manuel evinced much firmness and conversed during the whole journey with Brunet, who cast looks upon the people, whilst they vented their indignation upon him and his companions. When the cart arrived at the Place de la Revolution, Manuel leaped first upon the scaffold, and seemed anxious that the fatal ceremony should be performed without the least delay. He placed himself on the plank without waiting to have his hands tied behind him, and, disdaining any assistance, fixed his head under the machine. He was executed first. Brunet, the former general of the army of Staley, looked at the instrument of death with a smile of contempt, and laid his head down with great tranquillity. Houchard displayed equal fortitude. On the same day, Cusli, one of the deputies of the convention, who had been out-lawed, was also executed.

\* This gentleman distinguished himself by sending in his resignation to the convention when the question of the king's death was discussed. He was a leader of what was termed the moderate party, and was, on that account, condemned to the guillotine.

Barnave, late member of the constituent assembly, was executed on the first of December, with Duport Duterbre, the late minister of justice, and four other condemned victims, on the square of the revolution. They heard their sentence pronounced with great intrepidity. Immediately after, Duport began to harangue the tribunal and the spectators; but he had so soon uttered the word Citizens, than Barnave interrupted him, exclaiming, "Citizens, revolutions kill men, but posterity will judge them." The audience immediately drowned his voice with the shouts of *Vive la republique!* Duport Duterbre preserved his heroic fortitude till his last moment; but it was quite otherwise with Barnave, who, on ascending the scaffold, exclaimed, in a faltering tone of voice, "Citizens, I die innocent." His limbs trembled with fear at the aspect of the fatal axe, and they were forced to pull him to the plank or board to be tied. It was then that he cried, "Long live the nation; long live the religion."—The famous Rabaut de St. Etienne, a member of the convention, and the author of "The Sketch of the French Revolution," was arrested on the 5th in the street Poissonniere. He was a leading man in the first constituent assembly, and always a principal performer on the theatre of the revolution. Having, however, displeased those who were now at the head of affairs, his history of the revolution did not avail to smooth his destiny. According to the usual summary mode of proceeding adopted by the revolutionary tribunal, the next day, he finished his career by the guillotine.—A few days after, Madame du Barre, mistress to Louis XV. was condemned to die. As soon as sentence was passed upon her, she declared that she had important secrets to disclose. The execution of the sentence of death was therefore ordered to be suspended. What she had professed to disclose, however, being futile, and merely meant for delay, she was executed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the day on which her trial was concluded. Great crowds of people went to behold once more that famous woman. She struggled violently with her executioners, shrieking most bitterly while they were tying her to the board. One of the principal charges against Madame du Barre was, her having been several times in England to secure great sums to the enemies of France; her having worn mourning at London for the late Louis XVI; and living in a style of familiarity with the ministerial party; especially with Mr. Pitt, whose portrait she brought with her, and carefully preserved on a silver medal.

Though the strong lines between Weissenbourg and Lauterberg had been forced by the Austrians, and the army of

the Rhine dispersed, yet these advantages were not attended with such decisive effects, as might have been expected. The French seemed to possess an elasticity of courage, which rose under misfortune. They were unwearied in their efforts to recover the advantages they had lost on the Rhine. Repulsed by the Duke of Brunswick at Landau, and on the same day defeated by the troops under general Wurmser, with irreparable loss, they drew back for a short time behind Strasburg, but soon returned to the charge, hung on the confederates, harassed them incessantly, and, having defeated them in several engagements, forced them to raise the siege of Landau, and to fall back beyond the Rhine, for the safety of their principal posts on the German frontier, and the security of their winter quarters: so that, at the end of the campaign, the possession of four towns was the whole fruit of the campaign: for, Toulon it was found necessary to evacuate, and to set on fire the French ships in the harbour, on account of the daily reinforcements of the French army, which at last consisted of between *thirty* and *forty-thousand* men. "For the complete defence of the town and its extensive harbour," says lieutenant-general Dundas, "we had long been obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate dependent ones; the greatest part of these were merely of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct; and of our force, which never exceeded twelve thousand men bearing fire-locks, and composed of *five different nations* and *languages*, near nine thousand were placed in our supporting those posts, and about three thousand remained in the town. On the 16th of October, at half past two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment on that post till next morning. The works suffered much. The number of men killed and disabled was considerable. The weather was rainy, and the consequent fatigue great. At two o'clock on the morning of the 17th the enemy, who had every advantage in assembling and suddenly advancing, attacked the fort in great force. Although no part of this temporary post was such as could well resist determined troops, yet, for a considerable time, it was defended; but, on the enemy entering on the Spanish side, the British quarter, commanded by captain Conolly of the 18th regiment, could not be much longer maintained, notwithstanding several gallant efforts were made for that purpose. It was therefore at last carried, and the remains of the garrison of seven hundred men

retired

" retired towards the shore of Balaguier, under the protec-  
 " tion of the other posts established on those heights, and  
 " which continued to be faintly attacked by the enemy. As  
 " this position of Balaguier was a most essential one for the  
 " preservation of the harbour, and as we had no communi-  
 " cation with it but by water, 2200 men had been placed  
 " there for some time past. On the night preceding the  
 " attack, three hundred more men had been sent over, and  
 " on the morning of the 17th four hundred were embarked  
 " still farther to support it. When the firing at Balaguier  
 " ceased, we remained in anxious suspense as to the event  
 " till a little before day-light, when a new scene opened, by  
 " an attack on all our posts on the mountain of Pharon.  
 " The enemy were repulsed on the east side, where was our  
 " principal force of about seven hundred men, commanded  
 " by a most distinguished officer, the Piedmontese Colonel  
 " de Jernagnin, whose loss we deeply lament; but on the  
 " back of the mountain, near one thousand eight hundred  
 " feet high, steep, rocky, deemed almost inaccessible, and  
 " which he had laboured much to make so, they found  
 " means, once more, to penetrate between our posts, which  
 " occupied an extent of above two miles, guarded by four  
 " hundred and fifty men; and, in a very short space of time,  
 " we saw, that with great numbers of men, they crowded  
 " all that side of the mountain which overlooks Toulon.  
 " Our line of defence being thus broken in upon in its two  
 " most essential posts, it became necessary to adopt decisive  
 " measures, arising from the knowledge of the whole of our  
 " actual situation. A council of the flag and general offi-  
 " cers was therefore assembled. They determined on the  
 " impracticability of restoring the posts we had lost, and on  
 " the consequent propriety of the speediest evacuation of the  
 " town, evidently, and by the report of the engineers and  
 " artillery-officers, declared untenable. Measures of execu-  
 " tion were taken from that moment. The troops were  
 " withdrawn from the heights of Balaguier with out much  
 " interruption from the enemy, and in the evening, such  
 " posts as necessarily depended on the possession of Pharon  
 " were successively evacuated, and the troops drawn in to-  
 " wards Toulon. The forts d'Atrigues and St. Cathé-  
 " rine remained, together with the posts of Sablettes,  
 " C Brun, and Malbousquet, from which last the Spa-  
 " niards withdrew in the night, in consequence of the sup-  
 " porting post of Neapolitans at Miciffey having left the  
 " battery there established, and abandoned it without orders.  
 " Every attention was also given to ensure the tranquillity  
 " of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new

“ station in the outer road. Early in the morning of the  
 “ 18th the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery  
 “ were sent off. In the course of the day the post of Cape  
 “ Brun was withdrawn into la Malue, the post of Sab-  
 “ lettes also retired, and the men were put on board. Dur-  
 “ ing the night, measures were arranged for the ~~final~~ em-  
 “ barkation of the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, who  
 “ occupied the town, and of the troops of the same nations  
 “ who were now at la Malue, amounting in all to about  
 “ seven thousand men; for the Neapolitans had by mid-  
 “ day embarked. Having determined with lieutenant-ge-  
 “ neral Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, that, in-  
 “ stead of embarking at the quays and in the arsenal of the  
 “ town, our whole force should assemble near Fort la  
 “ Malue, and form on the peninsula which from thence  
 “ extends into the harbour, every previous disposition was  
 “ made, and every care taken to conceal our intention.  
 “ The arsenal and dock-yard were strictly guarded. The troops  
 “ were ranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tran-  
 “ quillity of the town was much ensured from the time the  
 “ enemy began to throw shells and shot into it; which they  
 “ did from our late batteries at Miciffey and Malbouquet.  
 “ About ten o’clock at night fire was set to the ships and  
 “ arsenal. We immediately began our march, and the  
 “ evacuation of the town, which it was necessary should be  
 “ made with secrecy and expedition. The fort of St. Ca-  
 “ therine having, without orders, been quitted in the course  
 “ of the day, and possessed by the enemy, the consequent  
 “ early knowledge of our march, had we taken the com-  
 “ mon route, through the gate of Italy, and within mus-  
 “ quet shot of that fort, might have produced great incon-  
 “ venience; we therefore, by a sally-post, gained an  
 “ advanced part of the road, and without accident were  
 “ enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort la Malue, and  
 “ form on the rising ground immediately above the shore.  
 “ The boats were ready, the weather and the sea in the  
 “ highest degree favourable: the embarkation began  
 “ about eleven o’clock, and by day break on the 19th the  
 “ whole without interruption, or the loss of a man, were on  
 “ board ship.” The great fire in the arsenal, the blowing  
 “ up of the powder ship, and other similar events which took  
 “ place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a  
 “ state of suspense and uncertainty. The French prisoners who  
 “ had been left in the Themistocles, were still in possession of  
 “ her, and had shewn a determination to resist the attempts of  
 “ the English to come on board. The scene of conflagration  
 “ around

around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion, had however awakened their fears for their lives. "Thinking this to be the case," says sir Sidney Smith, "I addressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a place of safety, if they would submit; and they thankfully accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ship. It was necessary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire. On this occasion I had nearly lost my valuable friend and assistant, lieutenant Miller, of the Windsor-Castle, who had staid so long on board to insure the fire taking, that it gained on him suddenly, and it was not without being very much scorched, and the risk of being suffocated, that we could approach the ship to take him in. The explosion of a second powder-vessel, equally unexpected, and with a shock even greater than the first, again put us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and when it is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece of the many which made the water foam round us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me."

Some time before the evacuation of Toulon, the enemy had opened a considerable battery on the height of Arenes, which much annoyed one of the principal outposts. It therefore became necessary to attack it. Dispositions for that purpose were made, and a corps of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spahis, and four hundred French, marched from the town. Notwithstanding all these were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide into four columns, to march across olive-grounds, intersected by stone walls, and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces, yet they succeeded in surprising and forcing the enemy, and were soon in full possession of the battery and height; but instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, the impetuosity of the troops led them to follow the enemy, to descend the height, to ascend other distant heights, and at last, in disorder, to encounter such superior forces, as obliged them precipitately to retire, and to relinquish the advantages they at first gained. Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who had arrived at the battery on our first success, being involved in the consequence of this sudden reverse, was wounded in the arm and made prisoner,

The islands of Tobago and St. Domingo in the West Indies, and most of the French territories in the East Indies, submitted to the British arms, or were subdued by them. The inhabitants of St. Domingo, who found themselves oppressed by a continued succession of deputies from the convention, and who were unprovided with any means of defence from the mother-country, joyfully yielded to the English armament, as the best method of securing their immediate safety, and obtaining permanent security in future.

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## C H A P. XXII.

*Arguments in the British Parliament for and against the war with France.—Conquest of Martinica.—Execution of Hebert and his associates.—Proclamation of the King of Poland.—Trial of Danton and his accomplices.—Battles on the continent.*

**D**URING the recess of 1793, it was evident to the British minister, that the voice of the nation, at least of the great holders of property, was still for war; which, however, was placed beyond all doubt by the decided and vast majorities that appeared for its continuation in both houses of parliament, at the beginning of next year. Among the arguments that were urged, on both sides of this great question, were the following. On the side of the war it was argued, that the murder of the king and queen, and other noble and innocent sufferers, that all the horrors of France, naturally awakened the minds of men and nations to sympathy; but a sympathy that leads to indignation and vengeance. The present war, said they, differs from all former wars. It is not a war of feudal pride and revenge, such as is found in rude ages, among barbarian tribes; nor yet of religion; nor yet of ambition for the subversion of states and extension of conquest. It is a war, the object of which, on the part of France, is the subversion of government, the extirpation of religion, the dissolution of society. The French, in the present war with Britain, were the aggressors. They endeavoured,

endeavoured, by disseminating their principles, to disunite the people from the constitution and government of this country; they made war on our allies, and declared war against ourselves. As to the probable success of the war, their resources, though great, were transient, as being the fruits of rapine and blood; which cut up by the roots all industry, the only permanent source of wealth.—The first campaign, it was said, had been singularly successful. Our allies, aided by our troops, had gained important advantages on the Rhine; we had crippled the French marine at Toulon; we had taken some places in the West Indies; by perseverance we might exhaust the unnatural and sagacious resources of our enemies, and reduce them at last to a fit temper for reasonable negotiation.—What can we do? no power to treat with; no security for peace! This order of things in France cannot be permanent. As their resources fail, and famine invades, the restraints of their ill-jointed government must become weaker and weaker. Power obtained by guilt, and founded on atheism, is incompatible with a new system of laws of any kind, but, most of all, with the rigour of republican virtue.

It was urged, on the other side, that to interfere in the internal government of nations is equally unjust and impolitic: unjust, because, whatever theory we embrace concerning the nature of government, the limits of government are fixed, and not to be extended at the pleasure of those who administer them; impolitic, because such interference cannot fail to be a source of manifold calamities. The war with France, on the part of Great Britain, was begun when the public mind was agitated by the death of the French king. But, however much such tragical events may rouse sympathy and indignation, they ought not to be made the grounds of war; for thus we should never have peace. The ignorant and unthinking multitude are struck with remarkable occurrences, and yield up their minds to the temporary impressions which they receive from them, in the same manner as they are affected by theatrical exhibitions. They neither look back on the past, nor forward on the future. As they do not recollect, so neither can they anticipate. The discerning and wise not only attend to events as they rise, and the circumstances that accompany them; they also inquire into their causes, and anticipate their consequences. We are fighting against the French, said they, in order to stop the progress of opi-

nion.



nion. But war, by rousing deep attention, opens the soil for the admission of opinions. During the course of the struggle between Great Britain and her colonies, the attention of mankind was turned to the principle on which the American republic claimed, and ultimately established independence. In like manner the principle will be discussed on which French freedom is now ~~cont-~~ tended against. Who knows, continued they, but this improvident war may hasten the ills it was intended to obviate? War brought new burdens on France; new burdens discontents; discontents revolution: so in Germany there may be a reflux in the tide of war to similar revolution.

But it is said, how is it possible to make peace with the French? with whom shall we treat? With those, it is replied, who are making war against you.—Have they power to sustain a war, and not power to make a peace? Individuals may perish, but the *Committee of Publ. Safety* remain as firm, as the British government would do though ministers were changed. The fall of *Robespierre* or *Danton* would only bring up others who are now in obscurity; and their fall would but make room for others of the same horrid description. The system would suffer no change. A sagacious writer,\* speaking of the government of the United Provinces, says it was a government held together by a dread of the Spaniards, at that time masters of the Austrian Netherlands. In like manner the French republic is held together by the external pressure of the confederates. But, there is danger of driving the French to such a degree of desperate ferocity as may convert them into a nation of assassins and robbers. They may lose the spirit of manufactures and commerce, and become a military republic. They might flourish in this character without money, with agriculture and the use of iron and gunpowder. The Romans were not merchants; yet they conquered the world. The French, with a greater command of mechanism than the Romans, can spare more hands for the war. Like the Israelites, part of them may stay at home to cultivate the fields, and part may pass the *Jordan* in order to acquire new settlements. It does not seem at all probable that ever the confederates can subdue so numerous and so enlightened a nation as the French: but if they did, how would they be able to keep them in sub-

\* Sir William Temple.

jection? The minister of war in France required three hundred thousand men, as a military establishment, for the maintenance of good order and justice among willing subjects. What sort of army must that be that shall rule over eighty-four refractory departments, six hundred refractory districts, and forty thousand refractory municipalities? The powers of Europe combined are not able to maintain such an army at such a distance; nor is it probable they would remain long in France, without imbibing the sentiments of the people.

These and other arguments against the war have undoubtedly great force; yet when we reflect on what the consequences might possibly have been of leaving the French entirely to themselves, in the full and undisturbed possession of all their usurped power and property, we shall be inclined to hesitate before we condemn the present war as unnecessary or inexpedient.—The French with great vigour and liveliness of mind, are, beyond all doubt, the most arrogant nation in the world. In every thing they assume the privilege of taking the lead and dictating to their neighbours. In one age they are the most bigoted in religion, and the most profuse in their donations to the church; in another the most devoted to their kings, and the most gallant and obsequious to their ladies: and now they affect to carry the simplicity of republicanism to an equal extreme: they overturn all institutions, human and divine; and, in their abhorrence of order and due subordination, wage war with heaven and earth. In these opposites the character of the French is equally seen; the same excess discovers itself, whether it be an officer of the army hastily rushing into a duel on account of some fancied disrespect to a mistress; or the president of the assembly giving the kiss of fraternity to negroes, and encouraging the ladies to bring all their jewels and ornaments to the public treasury, and observing, that the best ornaments of beauty are republican virtues. The propagation of their political tenets was the great object of their enthusiasm, even before they were provoked to hostilities by the invasion of the Germans.—There was, indeed, a chance, if they had been alone, of their falling out among themselves; but, they could have avoided internal confusion, the restless ambition of their nature would have vented itself in intrigues among their neighbours; to whom, like the Romans, they would have given the law, if they could, under

under the veil of admitting them into an alliance or fraternization with Frenchmen.

During the month of January, intelligence was received from Barcelona, that the Spanish troops, which were at Banuls de Mar, attacked the town of Port Vendre, and the intrenchments on the heights behind the place, and carried them, after an obstinate and bloody action, taking six pieces of cannon; that general Cuesta afterwards directed a sudden attack upon fort St. Elmo, where the French had retired from Port Vendre; and, notwithstanding the incessant fire kept up by the garrison, two battalions of Walloons and some other corps gained the almost inaccessible heights by which the place is commanded, and obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war; that the guns of the fort of St. Elmo were immediately turned upon the town of Collioure, which was given up at discretion the next morning; that on the 21st, the Marquis de las Amarillas, at the head of three columns, attacked the flank of the batteries and entrenchments in the front of the Spanish vanguard at Bolo, carried three batteries, and obliged the French to retreat to Banuls de Aspres; that a false attack was at the same time made on the right of the enemy's camp, by a column from Ceret, commanded by the Portuguese general Forbes, and another on the left by general Hurrigary, who fell in with a column of two thousand men, on their march from Perpignan to the camp of Banuls de Aspres, which they charged, killed five hundred on the spot, and, in the pursuit, took two hundred prisoners, and two baggage waggons, with very inconsiderable loss.—It is computed that, in these several actions, the Spaniards have taken seventy pieces of heavy artillery, a great quantity of cloathing and ammunition, and six months provision for ten thousand men.

Accounts were also received from the head-quarters at Bollou, that the allies had attacked and carried all the enemy's advanced lines and batteries; which success, together with the capture of Port Vendre, fort St. Elmo, and Collioure, determined the enemy, whose left and rear flanks were laid open, to quit, in the course of the following night, all their camps and ports in the front of the allies, and retire into Perpignan, leaving the Spaniards masters of the country to the very gates of the town.

In the sittings of the French convention of the 27th  
of

of January, a deputation of Americans were admitted to the bar, and the orator requested the pardon of Thomas Paine, whose papers, he said, had been examined, and were found to contain no dangerous propositions. The deputation therefore, with confidence, requested that Thomas Paine should be restored to the fraternal embrace of his fellow-citizens; and they offered themselves sureties for his conduct during the short time that he should remain in France. The president, after a high compliment to the American people, said, "You request us to deliver up Thomas Paine; you are anxious to re-convert to your own side the apostle of liberty. We must applaud this generous devotion. Thomas Paine was born in England—that was enough to subject him to the decree in the first instance, which our own safety demanded by the revolutionary laws. The convention will take into consideration your demand." In a short time after, the request was complied with.

Much about this period, the Swifs republic answered Lord Robert Fitzgerald's declaration, which recommended to the serious consideration of the Helvetic body some important observations on the relative situation of the republic to the belligerent powers. "These observations," said they, "we have examined with all that care and attention which is due to the interests of our country; and we think that we afford your Excellency a proof of the esteem which we entertain for your character, by making an open and sincere exposition of our situation and our conduct. However afflicting the remembrance of those terrible events in France (which your Excellency has brought to our recollection), and the sad fate of our brethren who suffered so unfortunately may be, yet our grief must nevertheless yield to the principles of our constitution. These principles have rested for several centuries on the relations of peace, amity, and good neighbourhood with all the surrounding powers. The operation of these principles has never been interrupted by foreign wars. A rigid and exact neutrality was the invariable maxim of our ancestors; and having received it as a sacred inheritance, we have conceived it to be our duty to abide by it in the present war. And this conduct has produced a salutary influence, not only on our external safety, but on our internal peace. Accustomed to observe scrupulously all engagements

"entered

“ entered into, we will neither wander from our declared neutrality, on any pretence whatever, nor will we listen to any insinuation which might give rise to just complaints. It is for us to preserve the enjoyment of that happy and peaceable situation, to which all our most zealous efforts tend. We will unite our force to repel even the slightest attempts that may be made to disturb our repose, or to undermine the foundation of it by any destructive principles. It is towards this end that our foresight is directed, by carefully guarding our frontiers, and by endeavouring to prevent any difficulties by a correspondence inseparable from our local relations. We intreat your Excellency to assure his Britannic majesty of the invariable determination of the Helvetic body; and it is with entire confidence we expect, from his good-will, that, following the example of his illustrious ancestors, who at all times have maintained the independence of the Helvetic confederacy, he will continue henceforth to entertain a sincere affection for our prosperity and our repose.”

The accounts from Paris of the 27th of February, brought a very melancholy detail of the situation of that capital with respect to provisions, particularly butcher's meat. The people were driven to such a pitch, that a supply no sooner arrived in Paris, than the multitude seized on it, and shared it among them. A very poor small pullet sold for ten livres, and the market of Poissy, which used lately to furnish from four thousand to eight thousand oxen, the last market day only produced two thousand. On the morning of the 21st, two large waggon loads of stinking fowls were exposed on the quay of St. Valley, but the commissaries of the police ordered them to be thrown into the river. The merchants, notwithstanding the laws, still continued to monopolize; vegetables were equally as scarce; however, from the measures adopted by the magistrates, they hoped this scarcity would shortly cease.—In the convention both Barrere and Legendre proposed the observance of a voluntary Lent, to save the consumption of meat. Barrere observed, that under the old system there were about six months in the year that meat was not eaten, which made a difference of one half in the consumption of that article; besides which, before the war, all the country people lived on the produce of the earth, and now one million two hundred thousand men eat meat daily; la

Vendee

Vendee furnished a number of oxen and sheep, and now furnishes none. Legendre, with great earnestness, urged the decreeing of the lent, alledging that they would otherwise be obliged to fast in spite of themselves; for the time was at hand when they would have neither meat nor candles; that the oxen killed lately did not afford tallow enough to light each other to their deaths; and that the provincial resources for cattle were exhausted, and the foreign ones totally stopped. It was decreed that the proposal of Barrere should be taken into consideration. The French convention have ordered all the pleasure grounds to be tilled, or employed in pasture, and adopted other measures to put a stop to the present scarcity of provisions.

Among those who were at this time executed at Lyons, was Jean Baptiste Victoire Guillotine, M. D. formerly of that city. He was charged with having corresponded with persons at Turin. It is an extraordinary thing that he should suffer death by an instrument of his own invention. He died with great reluctance, and declared, that when he produced his instrument to the world, it was from motives of humanity alone.

Towards the end of the month, dispatches were received from vice admiral Lord Hood, and lieutenant-general David Dundas, dated St. Fiorenzo in the island of Corsica, giving intelligence, that the tower and garrison of Mortella surrendered on the 10th of February; that the strong redoubt and batteries of the convention were taken by storm on the 17th, after a severe cannonading of two days; that the same night the enemy abandoned the tower of Forneli, and two considerable sea batteries dependent upon it; that on the 19th they retreated from St. Fiorenzo to Bastia; that previous to their retreat one of their frigates was sunk, and another burnt in the gulf; and that the town, forts, and port, were taken possession of the same day by his majesty's land and sea forces. The loss of the British consisted of thirteen killed, and thirty-nine wounded, besides six sailors of the Fortitude killed, and fifty-six wounded, from the fire of the fort of Mortella.

The complete conquest of the very valuable island of Martinico was effected on the 23d of March, the last and most important fortress of fort Bourbon having surrendered to his majesty's arms at four o'clock in the afternoon; at which time his royal highness prince Edward, major-general of his majesty's forces, took pos-

session of both gates with the first and third battalions of  
 grenadiers, and the first and third light infantry. "Having  
 " concerted measures with the admiral," says sir Charles  
 Grey, " for a combined attack by the naval and land  
 " forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the  
 " batteries of my second parallel being ready, those on  
 " Morne Tortenfon and Carriere kept up an incessant  
 " fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on  
 " Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th  
 " instant, and on the morning of the 20th following,  
 " till the ships destined for this service had taken their  
 " stations. The *Asia* of 64 guns, captain Browne, and  
 " the *Zebra* sloop of 16 guns, captain Faulknor, with  
 " captain Rogers, and a body of seamen in flat boats,  
 " the whole under commodore Thompson, composed  
 " the naval force; and the land force consisted of the  
 " first battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel  
 " Stewart, and the third light infantry, under lieute-  
 " nant-colonel Buckeridge, and the first light infantry,  
 " under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-gene-  
 " ral Prescott's camp at Souturie. The navy acquitted  
 " themselves with their usual gallantry (particularly  
 " captain Faulknor, whose conduct justly gained him  
 " the admiration of the whole army), carrying the fort  
 " by escalade about twelve o'clock of the 20th instant,  
 " under the able conduct of commodore Thompson,  
 " whose judicious disposition of the gun and flat-boats,  
 " assisted by that spirited and active officer captain Ro-  
 " gers, contributed materially to our success; at the  
 " same time that the land forces, commanded by that  
 " excellent officer colonel Symes, critically advancing  
 " with equal ardour, forced and entered the town trium-  
 " phantly, hoisting the British colours, and changing  
 " the name to Fort Edward. Immediately after this  
 " general Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bour-  
 " bon, sent his aid-de-camp with a flag, offering to  
 " surrender on capitulation; and the terms were finally  
 " adjusted and agreed to on the 22d instant, by three  
 " commissioners on each side; the ratifications thereof  
 " being signed by the commanders in chief on the 23d  
 " following; and the garrison, amounting to nine hun-  
 " dred men, marched out this morning prisoners of  
 " war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort  
 " Royal, and were embarked for France immediately.  
 " His majesty's troops, having marched in, struck the  
 " French and hoisted the British colours, and changed  
 " the

“ the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George.  
 “ Forts Bourbon and Royal have suffered greatly from  
 “ our fire during the siege, and we are diligently em-  
 “ ployed to put them in a proper state of defence, ef-  
 “ fectually to secure this important acquisition of territory  
 “ to the crown of Great Britain. I am restoring order  
 “ as fast as possible, from the confusion naturally occa-  
 “ sioned by a siege, and have the pleasure to observe that  
 “ every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regu-  
 “ lated as could be expected in the time.”

On the 25th of March, at nine o'clock in the morn-  
 ing, in consequence of the verdict of the revolutionary  
 tribunal, the following persons were brought from the  
 prison of the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution.  
 where they suffered under the axe of the guillotine, viz.  
 Hebert, Ronsin, Momoro, Vincent, Du Croquet, Kocq  
 a Dutchman, general Laumur, M. M. Bourgeois, Ma-  
 zuel, La Bourcau, Ancard, Le Clerc, Proly, Desfieux,  
 Anacharsis Clootz, Pereira, Florent, Armand, Des-  
 combes, and Dubuisson, convicted of being the authors  
 and accomplices of a conspiracy which existed against the  
 safety and liberty of the people, and against the exercise  
 of the lawful authority, tending to trouble the state by a  
 civil war, by arming the citizens against each other; and  
 the object of which was, in the course of the present  
 month Ventose, to dissolve the national representation,  
 to assassinate its members and the patriots, to destroy the  
 republican government, to seize upon the sovereignty of  
 the people, and to give a tyrant to the state.

At the trial of the conspirators, *one only*, Laboureaux,  
 was acquitted. As soon as he was liberated, the presi-  
 dent of the tribunal embraced him, and placed him at  
 his side, while the hall resounded with applauses! when  
 the sentences were pronounced, Anacharsis Clootz was  
 the only one who addressed the auditors. He appealed  
 to the *human race*, whose constant orator he had been.  
 Ronsin made an attempt to speak, but was carried off  
 with the rest. The conspirators, when carried back to  
 the Conciergerie, demanded a gallon of wine to be di-  
 vided among them, and some soup. About nine in the  
 morning, they were conveyed in three carts to the place  
 of execution. Never (says the editor of the *Annales*  
*patriotiques*) did a spectacle attract such a crowd, such an  
 infinite number of spectators. During the whole way  
 along, hands were clapped, and hats tossed in the air,  
 amidst the cry of “ Vive la Republique!” Insensible to  
 the



the indignation expressed against them, they passed along; and when at the foot of the scaffold, they embraced each other. Hebert, vulgarly entitled *Father Duchesne*, was guillotined the last, and his head was held up to the people. At this sight, the clapping of hands, and shouts of the spectators, were accompanied by the cry "Live the Republic." Hebert, on his first examination, appeared very much cast down, and even shed tears, to find his projects overthrown. Vincent and Ronfin, looking at general Laumur, at the very moment when his head was beneath the guillotine, said to Hebert—"Had it not been for the unskilfulness of that block-head, we should have succeeded!"

Much about this time, the following *note* was delivered by the Austrian envoy at the diet of Ratisbon, on the part of the emperor, to demand the sense of the Germanic states, respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a *triple contingent* on the part of the said states.

"All Europe knows the manifold and just grounds  
 "which have compelled the Germanic empire, united  
 "under its supreme chief, to declare a general war, for  
 "the maintenance of the most binding covenants and  
 "the most sacred treaties; for the preservation of social  
 "order from a wild, destructive, and most anarchic ty-  
 "ranny, falsely called freedom; for the defence of an  
 "acknowledged religion from pestiferous atheism; for  
 "the support of the constitution of the empire against  
 "an arbitrary, horrible, and universal revolutionary  
 "power; for keeping up the imperial honour; for the  
 "protection and future security of the imperial privi-  
 "leges and the frontiers; and for obtaining a suitable  
 "and entire satisfaction against the common enemy of  
 "all public order, against the most wanton disturbers of  
 "all the beneficent ties of social happiness, and the most  
 "cruel despots and violators of the most sacred rights  
 "of mankind.—Equally well-known are the different  
 "splendid victories from the first day of the opening of  
 "the last campaign, which were gained, blow upon blow,  
 "by the almost incredible bravery of the German troops  
 "on the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Maëse, the Mayn, the  
 "Mozelle, &c. &c. which were happily followed by  
 "the deliverance of the United Netherlands, invaded  
 "in the most lawless manner, and the emancipation of  
 "many other German districts and important countries  
 "from the sway of false French liberty; the capture of  
 Condé. —

“ Condé, the recapture of the city and important fort-  
 “ tress of Mentz, the taking of Valenciennes, Quefnoy,  
 “ &c. — But this campaign, so glorious for battles, sieges,  
 “ and conquests, could not bring back the French to a  
 “ more equitable and more just sense of reason, princi-  
 “ ple, and action, towards the Germanic nation, of-  
 “ fended to the highest degree. That faction, hostile  
 “ to the human race, which styles itself the national  
 “ convention of France, strengthens daily her power of  
 “ resistance by the most terrible means, by numberless  
 “ arbitrary confiscations, by the plundering of the  
 “ churches, and the rich, having already seized the  
 “ property of the clergy, nobility, and crown, and by  
 “ the most desperate measure of a general requisition of  
 “ all fighting men, supported by the most terrific instru-  
 “ ment the guillotine. — The violent decrees compelling  
 “ the people to rise in a mass, have given additional  
 “ force and strength to the numerous hostile armies now  
 “ in the field, so that they succeeded at last, after reno-  
 “ vated, daily, and most violent attacks, notwithstanding  
 “ the steadiest countenance and most gallant resistance  
 “ on the part of the German warriors, to retake by their  
 “ superiority a part of the conquests — a loss, which, in  
 “ all probability would not have ensued, if the contin-  
 “ gents of the empire had been properly sent. — This  
 “ general requisition of all the fighting men effected a  
 “ great superiority, and changed entirely the mode of  
 “ making war, increased the dangers and difficulties of  
 “ this coercive war, and seems in some manner to ne-  
 “ cessitate the rising in a mass of the inhabitants of the  
 “ frontiers of the Netherlands, Anterior Austria, Bris-  
 “ gatt, and other places, in order to procure safety to  
 “ the property of the loyal subjects of the empire,  
 “ against the ravages, branded with the wildest excesses,  
 “ occasioned by an enemy driven to despair by the misery  
 “ which reigns in their own country, and emboldened  
 “ by their recent successes.”

His Prussian majesty soon after published the following  
 objections against a general armament of the inhabitants  
 of the empire, viz. 1. By employing the peasants against  
 the enemy, agriculture would want hands. 2. That  
 there were not arms sufficient to give to such a mass of  
 people. 3. That it was impossible, in so short a time,  
 to teach the manual exercise to the inhabitants. 4. It  
 was found by the experience of the two last campaigns,  
 that the soldiers opposed to the French must be perfectly  
 exercised,

### *Kosciusko enters Cracow,*

excited, in order to make head against them. Lastly, Independent of the above reasons, it was infinitely dangerous at such a critical period, when the French were watching every advantage to insinuate their principles, to assemble so great a number of men, whose ideas upon forms of government must be various, and among whom dissensions might arise, disastrous in their consequences both to the armies, and to the constitution of the Empire.

Meanwhile the number of patriots in Poland were daily increased by persecution and oppression. The Russian troops having evacuated Cracow on the 23d of March, the experienced general Kosciusko immediately took advantage of the circumstance, and entered that town on the night of the 24th. Next morning he ordered the gates of the town to be shut, declared himself commander in chief of all the Polish forces, imposed an oath of fidelity on all the military in the town, rendered himself master of the public treasures, took a register of the plate of the churches, of the king's palace, and, in short, proceeded to measures of a military sequestration. The gates were kept shut till three o'clock in the afternoon. On the 25th the gates were again shut, and the general exhorted the inhabitants to arm themselves immediately in support and defence of the late constitution. A revolutionary tribunal was established on the 26th, composed of fourteen members, and a resolution was taken, that, throughout the republic, in the towns as well as in the country, every five houses should be obliged to furnish one man armed and equipped, at their expence, for the defence of the constitution, against the *usurping powers*. On the same day, and the day following, an extraordinary assembly of the magistrates and a town-council was held. The different corporations assembled under their respective banners before the town-house, from whence the magistrates led them on in a procession to the church of the Holy Virgin, where the constitution of the 3d of May, 1791, was publicly read with great solemnity, accepted, and an oath taken to defend it. General Kosciusko afterwards issued an universal proclamation, exhorting the Polish subjects to respect the dominions of the emperor, and to give no reason of complaint to any of the subjects of his Imperial majesty. This proclamation was sent to all the Austrian commanders and magistrates of the frontier territories, requesting at the same time, that if, during the present troubles,

troubles and revolution in Poland, any violence should be committed on the persons or property of any of the subjects of his imperial majesty, application should be made to the revolutionary government of the republic, which engages to procure an immediate and ample satisfaction and indemnification for such a violation. In consequence of the above declaration, general Kosciuszko, on receiving information respecting some of the straggling disbanded troops, who had seized a magazine in the Austrian territories, wrote a letter to the Imperial officers of that place, offering an indemnification for all damage done, as soon as an account of the amount of the same should be transmitted to him.

A few days after, the king of Poland issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Warsaw. "Melancholy experience, dear fellow-citizens, has convinced us but too strongly, how injurious all commotions are to the public welfare. If fresh ones should break out, it is to be feared, that our already too much afflicted country will cease to exist as a nation. The insurgents at Cracow try every means to delude your minds, and draw you into their plans. It is your duty, therefore, to be guarded against them in time, that we may not have to accuse ourselves of being the cause of our own destruction. What benefit resulted to us from our former actions? After so many storms and losses, the republicans only hope to see better days by the return of peace, as soon as their internal and external relations can be properly regulated. What can be the object of these inflammatory publications, which have been circulated, and of which we foresee the evil consequences? Beware of French principles and connections. Is it possible you can be blind to the means which they employ to introduce their system among you? They will endeavour to inflame your imagination with the hopes of bettering your circumstances, or recovering your lost provinces. They will propose to you entirely to sacrifice what little money and property has been left to you. Is it possible you can be so blind as to attempt this without any resources or connections, but such as will only furnish new pretexts to those who seek the ruin of our name and country? The present situation of Poland, without doubt, is melancholy; but consider that the means by which it is proposed the country should save itself, comes from those who, by our ruin,

T 2

" only

“ only seek to retard their own downfall for a few  
 “ months longer. The offers which have been made  
 “ you tend only to hasten your destruction. They will  
 “ not omit to hold up to you the example of some of  
 “ your fellow-citizens; but this very circumstance, and  
 “ the destruction already occasioned by fire and sword,  
 “ should open your eyes. The foreign intrigue, which  
 “ pretends to hold out such immense advantages, and  
 “ which perhaps is founded on bribery, has hardly made  
 “ its appearance, and already we see the bad conse-  
 “ quences of it. What troubles and damages have not  
 “ the forced marches of the troops occasioned to the in-  
 “ habitants? What suspicions are already occasioned,  
 “ and how many imprisonments have taken place.  
 “ What end can you promise to a cause with such be-  
 “ ginnings? How much blood has been shed in the  
 “ sacred name of liberty—a word so often abused to the  
 “ worst of purposes. Ye nobles and heroes, who  
 “ have bound yourselves by the most solemn oaths  
 “ to be faithful to your king and your country, and  
 “ to defend the laws and religion of your ancestors,  
 “ be assured that the artifices employed to gain  
 “ your sanction will eventually prove your own ruin.  
 “ The arms you bear are only an honour to your station,  
 “ so long as they are employed to maintain lawful authori-  
 “ ty; for every one who assumes powers not given to him  
 “ by the nation, whatever specious pretexts he may hold  
 “ out, can only be considered as a rebel. And you, ye  
 “ useful inhabitants of peaceful cities, be careful not to  
 “ mistake your rights and duties. Honesty and industry,  
 “ which multiplies the riches of a state, and love of virtue,  
 “ can alone enoble your station, and raise you to an equality  
 “ with the other ranks in the state. Consider every man  
 “ as an enemy, who may attempt to introduce tumult and  
 “ disorder into your peaceful habitations, and banish them  
 “ from among you.”

The sitting of the French convention of the 31st of  
 March, was taken up with long discussions relative to  
 the accusation of Danton and others. Legendre moved,  
 that they should be heard at the bar; but this was op-  
 posed by Robespierre, and therefore not complied  
 with. Robespierre in his speech on this occasion, thus  
 expresses himself; “ Could not all that is said of Danton  
 “ be said of Brissot, Hebert, and Chabot? They were, at  
 “ certain periods, the defenders of liberty. Why then  
 “ should Danton be allowed a privilege which was denied

“ to

“to his companion Fabre d’Eglantine? Attempts were  
“made to alarm you on the abuse of power. What have  
“you done which you have not done freely, which has  
“not contributed to the salvation of your own country,  
“which has not drawn down upon you the blessings of the  
“people? It is feared, that individuals may be sacri-  
“ficed. Do you then distrust that justice which con-  
“stitutes the people’s hope? I declare, that whosoever  
“trembles at this crisis is guilty. Me too they have  
“tried to intimidate. The friends of Danton have writ-  
“ten, that if Danton be overthrown, I must perish un-  
“der the strokes of the aristocrats. They have imagined,  
“that connections might induce me to divert the course  
“of justice. What signified to me the dangers that may  
“threaten? My life is my country’s, my heart is free  
“from reproach, and above all fear. I was also the  
“friend of Petion, of Roland, of Brissot; they betray-  
“ed their country, and I declared against them.”

St. Just then entered into a long report relative to the treason of Danton and his accomplices; which he represented as one of the many conspiracies, from that of the duke of Orleans to the present, set on foot by the combined powers, in order to destroy the public. In this report, St. Just, in detailing the various attempts to restore monarchy, thus represented the machinations of Hebert. “On the stage of the revolution, we have  
“seen a great number of performers, the greater part of  
“whom had talents to do good, but wanted the heart  
“and integrity to perform it. It will be pleasing to us,  
“nevertheless, to see, that all the wickedness with which  
“tyrants reproach us, springs from themselves; and that  
“from their thrones have issued the rivers of corruption  
“that have inundated France. We will follow the for-  
“eign powers step by step, and measure the route of  
“their agents. All the inimical governments have per-  
“ceived, that should they attack us with one faction alone,  
“that faction would readily be disconcerted. They  
“therefore set on foot, at one and the same time, several  
“factions, which are involved in each other, like the  
“skies of Descartes, and the aim of which is the same,  
“although they are not known mutually to each other.  
“In the first place sprang up, on the ruin of all prin-  
“ciples, and with the progress of every description of  
“crimes, though without energy and audacity, the fac-  
“tion called d’Orleans, after him whom it wished to

"place on the throne. By Federalism, which was to  
 "bestow on each commune an independent authority,  
 "an endeavour was next made to corrupt with greater  
 "facility the French nation, which would thus have  
 "been divided: a part of the convention was led into  
 "this opinion, and the members who became the ac-  
 "complices of this (Brissot, &c.) merited the fate they  
 "experienced. An infinity of other means have been  
 "practised to annihilate the republic: all of these have  
 "been destroyed, but new conspirators have formed new  
 "plots upon their ruin. At length, Hebert appeared  
 "on the political horizon: Hebert, who, to deceive the  
 "the people, addressed them in gross language. He  
 "soon perceived to what the destruction of religious  
 "worship would lead; and becoming accordingly a loud  
 "declainer against the eternal basis of morality, he at-  
 "tacked providence, denied the immortality of the soul,  
 "which comforted Socrates when he swallowed the juice  
 "of hemlock; and wished, in concert with his followers,  
 "to banish from nature the supreme Being. Let not the  
 "people lose sight of the Divinity! Those who made re-  
 "ligion a pretext for the restoration of royalty, have  
 "endeavoured to disseminate among us the horrible  
 "principle of atheism. Hebert delighted in repeating,  
 "that the revolution, like Saturn, would devour its  
 "children. No! It will devour none but the friends  
 "of tyranny;—no one true child of liberty will perish.  
 "Danton and Lacroix talk in vain of clemency. Let  
 "us be inflexible. It is indulgence that is ferocious,  
 "when it protects the enemies of the people. In the  
 "territory of France, none but freemen shall remain.  
 "Let us, like Prometheus, steal from heaven the fire  
 "which shall destroy tyrants, and give life to the re-  
 "public." This speech was frequently interrupted by  
 applauses.

On the 3d of April, after the reading of the act of  
 accusation, and the report of St. Just, the Public Accu-  
 ser requested, that general Westerman should be brought  
 from the Conciergerie, in order to be tried with the  
 deputies. This request was complied with. As soon  
 as general Westerman arrived, the revolutionary tribunal  
 proceeded to the examination of evidence against him.  
 Cambon, the deputy, was examined. His deposition re-  
 lated entirely to Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay d'Angers,  
 and Chabot. He developed the measures adopted by the  
 Committee

Committee of Five, to suppress the finance companies and to establish the credit of assignats; and he disclosed the manner in which the three deputies alluded to had altered the decree passed by the convention, relative to the East India company. Fabre d'Eglantine, when under interrogation, seemed to be much agitated. Camille Desmoulins ineffectually challenged Renauldi, one of the jurors. Danton, on being questioned as to his residence and name, replied, "My residence will soon be a non-entity, but my name will live in the Pantheon of history\*." Herault de Sechelles being interrogated as to his name and state, replied "I am called Marie Jean, names of little celebrity even among the saints. Before the revolution I had a seat in this hall, and was detested by the Parliamentarians." He demanded Simon, then in prison, for his defender. Lacroix, Camille Desmoulins, and several others, expressed their astonishment at seeing themselves comprehended among villains in the act of accusation.

On the 5th, the decree passed by the convention, and the letter received by the committees of public and general safety from the administrators of the police were read to the deputies. They persisted, however, in the determination not to answer interrogatories, unless Robespierre, Barrere, and St. Just,\* were summoned to attend. The conduct of Danton was extremely turbulent, and he inveighed in very strong terms against the judges. In consequence of the mode of conduct adopted by the prisoners, the jury found Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Herault de Sechelles, and Westerman, guilty of a conspiracy against the republic; and Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Julien de Thoulouze, and

\* The superficial and flimsy writings of Voltaire have certainly undone France. It is earnestly to be hoped, therefore, that the example will operate as a caution to all other governments, and teach them to beware of permitting with impunity impious and licentious publications. They may rely upon it, there are no libels so dangerous to a state as those against God. The cause of religious toleration ought ever to be venerated. But if the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, which is the great foundation of morality, be once removed, there can be no dependence on the principle or integrity of a people. Let ingenious men freely indulge themselves in verbal contests concerning the disputed points of theology: but let every impious scolder, who presumes to aim his destructive shafts at any of the great doctrines of religion, be severely punished, and his writings strictly prohibited. Till this is the case no government can be safe, nor will it be possible to maintain order, nor even common honesty, among men



Delaunay d'Angers, guilty of corrupt practices; d'Espagnac, the two Freys, Dietrichen, and Gusman, were also found guilty. Lullier was acquitted.—At two o'clock in the afternoon, the revolutionary tribunal passed sentence of death upon them, and ordered them to be executed at the expiration of three hours. At five o'clock the condemned persons were conveyed in three carts from the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution. In the first cart were Danton, Chabot, Lacroix, Fabre d'Elgantine, and Herault de Sechelles; in the second, Philippeaux, Delaunay d'Angers, Bazire, and Camille Desmoulins; in the third, Westerman, and others. They all behaved with intrepidity, except Lacroix. Danton in particular, who was executed last, shewed the utmost contempt of death.

Next day, Couthon thus addressed himself to the national convention. “We are here to give you some particulars, respecting what happened yesterday before the revolutionary tribunal, where Vadier and I were present without being seen. The conspirators said, that nothing was more glorious than to conspire against a government which conspires. Danton even had the audacity to sling little balls in the faces of the judges. Meanwhile, Simon, Thouvet, and Dillon, in the prison of the Luxembourg, escorted by their military fellow-prisoners, were waiting the moment to break their chains, to seize the avenues to the committees of public welfare and general safety, to butcher their members, and to inflict the same barbarity on the patriots of Paris, and on the revolutionary tribunal: then, taking the son of Capet from the Temple, they were to put him into the arms of Danton, who was to present to the people their new despot.”—“They calumniate your committees,” said Vadier; “They speak of arbitrary power, and a dictator. We can answer this in a few words. Examine the whole tenor of our life, and pronounce. For my part, I swear here, that if there were a member, who would usurp but for an instant the sovereign power, though old age has chilled my vigour, yet I would stab him in this hall!”—Couthon moved, that every deputy be bound to give an account of his former and present fortune, and that each of them declare that the national vengeance may strike his head if he impose on the nation. This motion was unanimously decreed, amidst loud bursts of applause.

In the sitting of the Jacobins, a few days after, Robespierre proposed, that the conspiracy should be the order of the day, and that every citizen should be invited to speak on that subject, and elucidate the profound crimes of the conspirators. "We shall in this way," said he, "crush the enemies of liberty, which cannot be effected by partial measures."—Chafes, having demanded a report on the decree which obliges the members of the convention to give an account of their conduct and their property, Robespierre thus addressed himself to the club in reply. "Of what importance is it that the convention oblige each of its members to account for its property? Is it not clear, that scoundrels can evade the rigour of this measure? These miscreants have their property in foreign countries, in a port folio. Brissot asserted, that he was poor, though it be known that he was the proprietor of several houses in London. Chabot said, that he did not touch a shilling with his wife, whose dowry had been kept from him. This was equally false; and, in short, all the criminals who have perished by the hand of justice, insisted on their poverty. They unceasingly said to the people; We are poor and incorruptible, and it cannot be proved, that we possess any property. Citizens, let us consider it as an invariable principle never to afford to bad citizens the means of ranking themselves among the patriots. Let us require from them the tests that belong exclusively to the patriots, and let us reject all those that may be common both to the latter and the aristocrats. The patriots are pure. If any of them possess the gifts which virtue despises, and which avarice alone esteems, they are very far from wishing to conceal the fact. They are, on the other hand, extremely desirous to make a good use of what they possess. Conspirators alone can find it their interest to make any concealment from the people. The proofs we ought to require, consist in a life, every moment of which has been spent in the exercise of virtuous actions, in a life filled with sacrifices to the country. The proposition made to the convention, and which goes to the length of obliging every member to give in a statement of his property, is therefore not so important as at first sight may appear. Little as it promises, however, I know that it came from an honest and just man. In defeating the conspiracy,

"we

" we still left something undone. While a league of  
 " tyrants shall exist against France, liberty will be ex-  
 " posed to the utmost danger. This reflection ought to  
 " call forth both our justice and our vigilance: it should  
 " engage us not to abandon the great measures it be-  
 " comes us to take. To strike a terrible blow at aristo-  
 " cracy, as soon as it may rear its insolent head, and to  
 " snatch from it the disguise under which it is concealed;  
 " such should be the order of the day. Let us so alarm  
 " this aristocracy, that it may neither presume to attack,  
 " nor mislead us. Let us, on the other hand, protect inno-  
 " cence, and snatch from tyranny the horrid expectation of  
 " destroying the patriots.

Towards the end of March, general Mèlas set out from Saarbours, with an intention of dislodging the French from the environs of Perl, where they were beginning to entrench themselves. The first attack which they attempted was of little importance; they came to no regular engagement, and there were only two Croats wounded. Next day the Austrians made a new attack at seven o'clock in the morning; the French feigned to retreat, in order to draw them from the batteries which they had behind Perl; but they being aware of the stratagem, remained in their position. Upon this, the French resolved to make an attack; which they did towards the evening. The Austrians had taken their dispositions so well, that the first fire of the musquetry of the Croats killed between 80 and a 100 of the enemy. This warm reception quickly compelled them to retreat. The French, no doubt, supposed, upon the first attack of the Austrians, that the country was going to rise against them; for at the same moment the tocsin was sounded in all the villages, and a crowd of the inhabitants; even women and children, armed themselves with all sorts of weapons, in order to resist the Austrians.

About the same time, the duke of York received a report from count Walmoden, that the enemy, having succeeded in surprising the Hessian posts at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, got behind the Hanoverian pickets, and cut them off. Succour, however, having arrived from Menin, the enemy was driven back, and forced to recross the Lys, and to destroy the bridge which they had made. Of Hanoverians the loss was one man killed,

killed, one officer, and seven men wounded, and three officers and 143 men taken prisoners.

On the 17th of April, remarkable success attended the general attack made by the armies of the combined powers. According to the plan proposed, the Austrian, British, and Dutch armies assembled on the 16th upon the heights above Cateau, in order to be reviewed by his imperial majesty. After which the Austrian and British armies passed the Selles, and encamped in front of the town, while the Dutch formed their camp immediately in its rear. At nine o'clock next morning, the three armies moved forward in eight columns. The first column composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of prince Christian, of Hesse Darmstadt, advanced upon the village of Cattillon, which was forced after some resistance, in which the enemy lost four pieces of cannon, and from thence proceeded across the Sambre, and took a position at Favril, between the Sambre and the Petite Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies on that side. The second column, commanded by lieutenant-general Alvintze, and consisting of the reserve of the Austrian army, moved forwards upon Mazinguet, and having forced the French entrenchments at that place, as well as at Oisy, proceeded to Nouvion, and took possession of the whole wood called the Forest of Nouvion. The third column, which consisted of the main body of the Austrian army, and with which his Imperial Majesty and the prince of Cobourg went themselves, proceeded along the high road leading from Cateau to Guise, and, after carrying the two villages of Ribonville and Wassigny, where the enemy were strongly entrenched, detached the advanced guard forwards, which took possession of the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus, and pushed forward as far as Henappes. The fourth and fifth columns were formed of the army under the command of his royal highness the duke of York. Of the first of these the duke took the direction, assisted by lieutenant-general Otto. Lieutenant-general sir William Erskine, commanded the other column. The duke's column was intended to attack the redoubts and village of Vaux, as well as to render itself master, if possible, of the wood called the Bois de Bohain, which the enemy had strongly entrenched. In consequence of the very great defiles and ravines which they found on their march, the duke's column was not able to arrive at the point of attack till one o'clock

6 o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the cavalry of the advanced guard appeared upon the heights, the French began a very severe cannonade, from the effects of which, although very near, they were however enabled, in great measure, to cover themselves by the natural inequalities of the ground. Having examined their position, and finding it very strong, the duke determined to endeavour to turn it by their right, and for this purpose, ordered the whole of the column to move forwards, under cover of the high ground, leaving only a sufficient quantity of cavalry upon the heights to occupy the enemy's attention. Strong batteries likewise were formed, which kept up a severe fire, and protected the movements very considerably. As soon as the troops had gained sufficiently the enemy's flank, the advanced guard, under the command of major-general Abercromby, was directed to begin the attack, and two companies of the light corps of Odouneil, supported by the two grenadier companies of the 1st regiment of guards, under the command of colonel Stanhope, stormed and took the Star Redoubt, above the village of Vaux, while the three battalions of horse grenadiers, led on by major-general Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the enemy had constructed for its defence. The enemy's fire at first was very severe, but when the troops approached they began to retreat on all sides, and were soon put to flight. The duke of York immediately detached a part of the cavalry, consisting of Hussars, and one squadron of the 16th regiment of light Dragoons, commanded by major Lippert of the former corps, round the wood to the right, who completely succeeded in cutting them off, took four pieces of cannon and a howitzer, with a considerable loss of men on the part of the enemy; whilst the cavalry of the advanced guard on our left, under the command of colonel Devay of the regiment of arch-duke Ferdinand's hussars, pursued them through the wood, and drove them into the village of Bohain, which they evacuated immediately. Sir William Erskine was equally successful with his column, which was intended, by the villages of Mareis and Premont, to turn the wood of Bohain, in order to facilitate the attack. He met with no resistance till he arrived at the village of Premont, where he found the French strongly posted; he immediately formed his line, and having detached the brigade of British infantry, and the Austrian regiment of Cuirassiers of Zetchwitz, with

with four squadrons of British light dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general Harcourt, in order to turn the position, he attacked it in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well directed fire of the Austrians and British artillery of the reserve, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and succeeded completely in driving the French from the redoubts, where he took two pieces of cannon, and a pair of colours. From thence he proceeded to turn the wood with a part of the corps, leaving the rest upon the position at Premont. The sixth, seventh and eighth columns were intended to observe the enemy on the side of Cambray; the first of these, composed of Austrians, and commanded by major-general count Haddick, pushed forward as far as the village of Crevecoeur, and detached some light troops across the Scheldt, without meeting with any resistance. The seventh column, consisting of Austrians and Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, moved forward upon the high road leading from Cateau to Cambray, and advanced beyond Beauvois with the eighth column, composed chiefly of Dutch troops, commanded by major-general Geyssau, covered the hereditary prince of Orange's right flank, and moved forward in front of St. Hilaire. The prince's advanced guard were attacked by the French, whom they repulsed with great ease.—The signal success which attended these extensive and complicated operations determined the emperor to begin immediately the siege of Landrecies; and therefore the prince of Orange, to whom the direction of the siege was committed, moved with the greatest part of the camp from Beauvois, and took a position so as to complete the investiture of that fortress; while his Imperial majesty, with the grand army, covered the operations of the siege on the side of Guise, and that under the duke of York's command did the same towards Cambray. The loss of the combined armies on this occasion, was inconsiderable; whilst that of the French was very great. The British, in particular, were peculiarly fortunate. The Hon. captain Carleton, of the Royals, a young officer of promising merit, was the only one they had to regret. Of privates three were killed and six wounded. In the various attacks, the French lost upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, of which nine were taken by the column under the duke of York's command, besides the two which

which were taken by lieutenant-general sir William Erskine.

A few day after, the prince of Orange made a general attack upon the posts, which the French still occupied in the front of Landrecies, and succeeded in getting possession of them all, and in taking by storm their entrenched camp, and a very strong redoubt, which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within six hundred yards of the place. He took advantage of this redoubt to cover the left flank of the trenches, which were then opened. According to the original plan, adopted before the battle of the 17th, it was determined to withdraw the detached corps of each army, as soon as the position for the investiture of Landrecies was properly secured; and in consequence, orders were given that these corps should retire. But on the 21st, the French attacked two detached corps of the prince of Cobourg's army, at Grand Blocus and Nouvion, under the command of major-general Bellegarde, and lieutenant-general Alvintzy. The prince of Cobourg having requested the duke of York to support the former, his Royal Highness marched immediately with five battalions of Austrians, and major-general sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry. These troops, however, did not arrive till the affair was over, general Bellegarde having repulsed the French with great slaughter, and having taken four pieces of cannon, and one howitzer. As the French appeared in great force on general Alvintzy's front, the prince of Cobourg did not think it proper to support a post which was of no importance to him, and which was at any rate to be abandoned that night. General Alvintzy was therefore ordered to retire to his position in the line, which he did in great order, and with very inconsiderable loss, although exposed to the enemy's cannonade.

On the morning of the 22d, the duke of York received a report from lieutenant-general Wurmb, who commanded a detached corps of the army at Denain, that the French had attacked him in great force on the 19th; that at first his advanced posts were obliged to retire, and that the enemy had already got possession of the village of Abfcon; and of one of the redoubts on his front; but that, upon a reinforcement coming up, they were completely driven back with great loss. The Hessians however suffered considerably, having lost five officers, and seventy men killed and wounded.

In the course of the following week, intelligence was received at the admiralty, from rear-admiral Macbride, that the Echo sloop had arrived at Plymouth on the 25th, bringing with her a letter from sir John Warren, of his majesty's ship Flora, who was on his passage to Portsmouth, with the Pomone and La Babet French frigates, captured by the Squadron detached under his command. The Concorde and La Nymphe arrived the preceding evening with L'Engageante, another French frigate, captured by the Concorde. On this occasion, the following letter was written by sir John Warren to rear-admiral Macbride. "Sir, in pursuance of your orders, "I proceeded with the ships Arethusa, Melampus, La "Nymphe, and Concorde, to cruise on the coast of "France, and on the 23d of April, from variable winds, "being to the westward of Guernsey, Rock Dover "bearing E. by S. four or five leagues, Guernsey N. E. "half East seven or eight leagues, I discovered at four "in the morning four sail, standing out to sea on the "larboard tack, the wind S. S. W. and, as the morn- "ing began to break, I saw from their manœuvres and "firing of guns they were some of the enemy's ships of "war. They soon afterwards appeared in a line of "battle on the larboard tack; and as our ships from "having chased, were not collected, I made the signal "to form in succession. We crossed each other on con- "trary tacks, and the enemy began the action at a con- "siderable distance; their sternmost ship having passed "over, they again tacked; but the wind changing two "points in our favour, I perceived it was impossible to "weather them, and therefore made the signal for the "ships to engage as they came up, so as to prevent the "enemy gaining their own shore, and to oblige them to "come to a close action: I am happy to say we succeed- "ed in this object. The engagement lasted nearly three "hours, when two of the ships struck: I then made the "signal for those who were coming up to pursue and en- "gage the enemy, as from the situation of this ship, "having led the line into action, she was incapable of "continuing the pursuit. Another of the enemy's ships "struck to the Concorde, sir Richard Strachan, in the "evening. On our side, *four men* only were killed, and "*eight* wounded.—The French squadron consisted of "L'Engageante, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 300 men, "Monsieur Desgraceaux Chef D'Escadre; La Pomone, "44 guns, 24 pounders, 400 men; Le Resolue, 36 "guns, 18 pounders, 320 men; La Babet, 22 guns, 9 "pounders.



“ pounders, 100 men. They sailed from Caneallo Bay  
“ the evening before we met them.”

On the continent, success still attended the arms of the confederates. In consequence of a report from the prince of Cobourg, the duke of York, on the 23d of April, sent a detachment of cavalry from Cateau to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have assembled at the Camp de Cesar, near Gambray. This patrol, with which general Otto went, found the enemy in great force, and so strongly posted at the village of Villers en Cauchie, that he sent back for a reinforcement, which the duke immediately detached. It consisted of two squadrons of the Zetchwitz cuirassiers, major-general Mansel's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the eleventh regiment of light Dragoons. As they could not arrive till it was dark, general Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place soon after day-break. He then ordered two squadrons of Hussars; and two squadrons of the fifteenth regiment of light Dragoons, to charge the enemy, which they did with the greatest success; and, finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke them likewise. Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence; but, by some mistake, general Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpose. The French, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat in great confusion into Cambray, with the loss of 1200 men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon; while the loss on the other side, considering the danger of their situation, was very inconsiderable. The only officer wounded was captain Aylett, of the 15th regiment, who had the misfortune to receive a severe wound in the body by a bayonet.

On the 26th, at day-break, the French attacked the duke of York's army on all sides, on the Heights above Cateau; when, after a short, but severe conflict, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter. It appeared that the attack of the enemy was intended to be general, along the whole frontier from Treves to the sea. The corps, which attacked that under the duke's command, consisted of a column of 28,000 men, who marched out of Cambray the preceding night at 12 o'clock, with 79 pieces of cannon, and a smaller one, which moved forwards by the way of Premont and Marets. The enemy formed

formed their line at a very early hour, and, under favour of a fog, advanced to the attack of the villages in the duke's front, which, being occupied by light troops only, they possessed themselves of without much resistance; and advancing, formed their attack upon the village of Troisville, into which they had actually entered, but were dislodged again by the well directed fire of grape-shot from two British six-pounders, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve. Their movements being now plainly seen, and their left appearing to be unprotected, it was determined to detach the cavalry of the right wing, under the command of lieutenant-general Otto, and to turn them on that flank; whilst by a severe cannonade from the front, our utmost endeavours were used to divert their attention from this movement. Some light troops likewise were directed to turn, if possible, their right flank; but having received a very severe fire from a wood, which they imprudently approached too near, they were obliged to retire. They however immediately rallied, and, after driving the enemy back, took from them two pieces of cannon. General Otto completely succeeded in his movements. The French were attacked in their flank and rear, and, although they at first attempted to resist, they were soon thrown into confusion, and the slaughter was very considerable. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the allies. While this was passing on the right, fortune was not less favourable on the left. The cavalry of the left wing having moved forward to observe the enemy's column, which was advancing from Premont, and Marets, the 7th and 11th regiment of light dragoons, and Mares, the 7th and 11th regiment of light dragoons, with two squadrons of arch-duke Ferdinand's hussars, under the command of major Stephanitz, attacked their advanced guard with so much spirit and impetuosity, as to defeat them completely. Twelve hundred men were left dead on this part of the field; ten pieces of cannon, and eleven tumbrils, filled with ammunition, were taken. The loss on the side of the allies was likewise considerable. Of British officers major general Mansel and lieutenant Fellows were killed; captain Pigot, lieutenant Moore and lieutenant Fromm were wounded; and about 300 privates were either killed or wounded.

General Walmoden's aid-de-camp arrived at Deynse, on the 30th, with the disagreeable news, that the French, the day before, had attacked the port at Moudon, where general Clairfayt, with some battalions of Austrians, had joined the

Hanoverians; and that, after a long and severe action they had forced the allies to retire with the loss of some cannon and tumbrils.---The same day, however, the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of Landrecies was received. At ten o'clock in the morning, the town offered to capitulate, and requested a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange the articles; but this was absolutely refused, and they were allowed only half an hour to come to a determination, which, upon a second request, was extended to an hour. But before this time was elapsed, the deputies of the town came out, and after a very short conference, agreed to deliver up the place at five o'clock in the evening, and that the garrison should be prisoners of war.

On the 1st of May, about one o'clock in the morning, the duke of York, with all the troops under his command, marched from the camp near Cateau, and proceeded to St. Amand, with part of the cavalry, in the evening; but from the excessive heat of the day, and a severe storm which lasted the whole night, the infantry was not able to arrive till the next morning. The duke, immediately after his arrival, went over by appointment to Tournay, to meet General Clairfayt, in order to consult with him upon the necessary operations for compelling the enemy to retire from Flanders; and had, at the same time, an opportunity to inquire more fully into the unfortunate affair of the 29th. General Clairfayt told his royal highness, that the enemy had taken the advantage of his absence at Dennin, to attack and carry the post at Moucron, and consequently Moucron itself, which was incapable of defence: that, with regard to the affair of the 29th, it had been his intention to attack the enemy, as soon as six battalions of Austrian infantry, which had been sent to him from the emperor's army, were arrived; but that the enemy had been beforehand with him, and had begun the attack; that his troops behaved with much courage and resolution, from eight o'clock in the morning, when the attack began, till four o'clock in the afternoon; but that as soon as the order was given to retreat, from the intricacy of the country, they fell into a confusion, from which it was impossible ever to rally them.

About the same time, the garrison of *Menin*, under the command of major-general Hammerstein, after sustaining the attack for four days, finding no possibility of succour, gallantly determined to fight their way through the enemy, which they effected without any great loss, though continually harassed in their march. The garrison consisted of four battalions of British and Hanoverian troops, and four companies of the loyal emigrants. Thus the armies of

Great Britain, in conjunction with those of her German allies, abundantly sustain her reputation for military courage and martial bravery. The valour displayed in this fall, by a handful of men against 10,000 of the French, may have been equalled, but has never been surpassed, in the annals of military achievements.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*State of Poland—Achievements of Kosciuska—Resolutions of the Swedes, Danes, and Americans—Robespierre's report upon the Decadatory Festivals—Battle of the 10th of May—Execution of Princess Elizabeth—Battle of the 17th of May—Bastia, the metropolis of Corsica, surrenders to lord Hood—Continental engagements—Defeat of the Spanish troops.*

POLAND, though formed to be a great independent state, for some time past, has been in imminent danger of total dismemberment. It has only one strong fortress, which has been seized and occupied by the Russians. Woods and rivers it has; but not such barriers as usually define and defend great kingdoms. Yet the spirit of liberty, rising like Antæus after every fall, and the varying course of human affairs, may possibly restore the Poles, and even exalt them above their former rank in the scale of nations. May the spirit of Kosciusko be encouraged, and the rights of the Poles, a people worthy of liberty, and capable of receiving it, be protected!

General Kosciusko left Cracow about the end of March, taking the route for Warsaw, his army of regulars and artillery having been reinforced by 4000 peasants, armed with pikes, scythes, and the like. On the 4th of April, at a village called Raclawica, which is seven German miles from Cracow, on the road to Warsaw, he met with a body of Russian troops, consisting of about 6000 men, with a park of heavy artillery, who were marching against Cracow, for the purpose of reducing it. They were headed by the Russian general Turmanzow, and advanced in three columns to the attack of the Poles, with great impetuosity. Some squadrons of the Polish cavalry were defeated at the first onset; but their infantry, led on by general Kosciusko

in person, and supported by the whole body of the peasants, attacked the Russian centre with such a *spirit of desperation*, that the line was immediately broken, and a dreadful carnage of the Russian troops ensued, the peasants refusing to give any quarter. The Russian corps de reserve attempted to take the Poles in flank; but this plan was rendered abortive by the vigilance and coolness of general Kosciuszko, and the whole Russian army entirely dispersed. Colonel Woronzow was taken prisoner. Upwards of 1000 Russians were killed on the field, while the Poles lost only 60 men, and had about 80 wounded. The Russians likewise lost eleven pieces of heavy cannon, and all their ammunition.

The 17th of April was a dreadful day for Warsaw. Some days before, the Russian general Ingelstroem dispatched thence all the Russian cavalry, that they might support those troops who had marched at an early period against Kosciuszko; so that no more than three battalions of Russian infantry remained at Warsaw. A commotion, therefore, took place, which struck general Ingelstroem to be one of so serious a kind, that he collected together his three battalions, and acquainted the king of Poland, with what had happened. His Polish majesty answered, that he had already heard of the disturbances; and that he requested the general to march his troops from the capital, to avoid blood-shed, until the minds of the people should have been appeased. Meantime general Ingelstroem sent general Bauer with a Russian detachment to the arsenal, to take possession of it; but general Bauer came too late; the Burghers had already seized it, taken out the arms, and made general Bauer with his whole detachment prisoners. At this period, the whole number of the citizens of Warsaw, supplied with the arms taken out of the arsenal, came forth, and drove out of that city a whole battalion of Russian infantry. The two other battalions, headed by general Ingelstroem, took station in St. Catherine's-street, and made resistance. Although the Poles fired upon them from all the houses, yet the Russians resisted with great gallantry, forced their way into the houses, and, by means of the out-buildings, endeavoured to escape from one adjacent yard to another. After an incessant combat of *thirty-six hours*, they succeeded so far as to gain the open field, with the loss of one half of their number. The remains of their corps, under the guidance of generals Ingelstroem, Apraxin, and Subonw, effected a junction with the Prussian general Wolky and his small corps, at the distance of two leagues from Warsaw. The Poles, in order to drive the Russians from

from their posts, set fire to several edifices at Warsaw. No sooner had the Russians left that capital, than the Poles rushed into all the dwellings occupied by the Russians, plundered and pillaged them, and put to the sword most of the inhabitants who still remained. During the tumult, the magistrates assembled in a body; but their efforts to quell the insurrection were entirely fruitless.

The principal cause of this insurrection was a note which the Russian general baron Ingelstroem delivered on the 16th to the king of Poland, and the permanent council, in which he demanded the death of twenty Poles, most of whom were persons of eminence, and possession of the arsenal for him and his troops, for the sake of preserving the public tranquillity. His Polish majesty remonstrated; but the Russian minister insisted upon his demands being immediately complied with, and the Russian troops actually endeavoured to take possession of the arsenal early next morning, and attempted to disarm the Polish soldiers who were stationed in it. The intelligence was instantly brought to the king's palace, and the inhabitants supplicated Stanislaus to resent their attempt. The king said to the petitioners, "Go, and defend your honour."

About this time a convention was signed between the ministers of Sweden and Denmark, in which they mutually bound their respective courts to fit out a fleet of eight sail of the line each, and a proportionable number of frigates, for the protection of their commerce; and, in case their ships should be unlawfully seized and detained, they promised, after proper remonstrances, to make *reprisals*. The two courts considered all the ships, which for some time before had been brought into British ports, as unlawful detentions; and all their proceedings bore a very warlike aspect. Article I. curiously enough declared, that the courts of Denmark and Sweden had observed as strict a neutrality towards their friends and allies, *as circumstances would permit*. Article X. declared that the East Sea, being always considered as an inclosed sea; no ships of war belonging to foreign powers could enter it. By article XI. a copy of the convention was to be sent to each of the powers at war; declaring, at the same time, that the Swedes and Danes wished to preserve friendship and harmony, and that the convention had no other object than to make their neutrality respected.

On the 14th of April, the house of representatives at Philadelphia, entered into the following resolution: "That  
" until compensation should be made for all losses and damages contrary to the laws of nations, and in violation

"of the right of neutrality, until all posts now held and detained by the king of Great Britain within the territories of the United States should be surrendered, and until compensation for negroes carried away contrary to the treaty of peace, all commercial intercourse between the United States and the subjects of the king of Great Britain, should be prohibited." Mr. Jay was appointed minister to England on the 18th; and, on the 28th, Congress debated the question for prohibiting the importation of goods from Great Britain and Ireland. After a warm discussion, the question was negatived in the Senate-house by the casting voice of the president, *Washington*; the numbers on each side being thirteen. The bill passed the house of representatives by a great majority.

On the 4th of May, the French attacked the post of Rousschaer, where colonel Liffinghen was cantoned with one squadron of the Hanoverian regiment du corps, and two squadrons of the 10th regiment of light dragoons. They were, however, repulsed, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and 200 men killed. The colonel thinking the post untenable with infantry, fell back in the evening to Thourout, and from thence to Bruges; but, having received a reinforcement, he again moved forward to Thourout.

A few days after, Robespierre made the long promised report upon the Decadatory Festivals. After having observed that the victories of the Republic were noised throughout every quarter of the universe; that there was an entire revolution in the physical order, which could not fail to effect a similar revolution in the moral and political orders; that one half of the globe had already felt this change, which the other half would soon feel; and that the French nation had anticipated the rest of the world by 2000 years, inasmuch that it might be considered as consisting of a new species of men, the orator proceeded to launch forth in the praise of republican morality and a democratical government. The plan of the decree was then read, setting forth that the worship of the Supreme Being consisted in the practice of the duties of man; among which it ranked the detestation of treachery and tyranny, the punishment of traitors and tyrants, the succouring of the wretched, respect for the weak, the defence of the oppressed, the doing to others all possible good, and the shunning of injustice towards any one; that festivals should be instituted to recal man to a recollection of the Divinity, and to the dignity of his existence; and that these festivals should be named either after the glorious events of the French revolution, such virtues as are dearest and most useful to man, or the most

most conspicuous benefits of nature. On the days of the Decades the following festivals are to be celebrated:—To the Supreme Being; to nature; to the human race; to the French nation; to the benefactors of humanity; to the martyrs of liberty; to liberty and equality; to the republic; to the liberty of the world; to the love of the country; to the punishment of tyrants and traitors; to truth; to justice; to modesty; to glory and immortality; to frugality; to courage; to sincerity; to heroism; to disinterestedness; to stoicism; to love; to conjugal love; to paternal love; to maternal tenderness; to filial piety; to infancy; to youth; to virility; to old age; to misfortune; to agriculture; to industry; to our ancestors; to posterity; and to happiness.—By this decree, the freedom of religious worship is maintained; every aristocratical and other assembly subversive of public order is suppressed; and, in case of disturbances, the motive or occasion of which may consist in any particular mode of worship, those who shall excite these troubles by their discourses or counter-revolutionary insinuations, and those who shall cause them by outrages as unprovoked as unjust, shall be equally punished by all the rigour of the law.

On the 10th of May, the army under the command of the duke of York having been attacked near Tournay, by the French, in different columns, to the amount of 30,000 men, after a sharp engagement which lasted five hours, the French were repulsed, with the loss of 13 pieces of cannon, and above 400 men taken prisoners. The attack began at day-break, when the enemy attempted to turn the duke's left flank, but were driven back by the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was posted in a wood to cover the troops on that side. The French then directed their next efforts against the centre of the army, upon which they advanced under a heavy cannonade with great resolution; but a favourable opportunity presenting itself of attacking them on their right flank, which did not seem to be protected, lieutenant-general Harcourt was detached for that purpose, with sixteen squadrons of British cavalry, and two of Austrian hussars. General Harcourt, having succeeded in gaining their flank, attacked them with so much resolution and intrepidity, that they immediately began to retreat, in the course of which they were soon broken, and suffered considerable loss. While this was passing in the corps under the duke's particular command, that of the Hanoverians on the right was attacked with equal vigour. This, however, after a severe contest, terminated to the advantage of the Hanoverians, who main-



### Execution of Princess Elizabeth

gained their post, and repulsed the French with considerable loss. Of the duke's army upwards of 30 were killed, and about 80 wounded. Two hundred and thirty horses also were either killed, wounded, or missing.

On the same day, the ill-fated sister of Louis XVI. fell a victim to the republican system of government in France. She was fetched from the temple on the night preceding, and taken to the Conciergerie, where she was next morning examined before the revolutionary tribunal; but the examination was very summary. The only question put to her was, her *name* and *quality*? To the first she answered, that her name was Phillipina Maria Elizabeth Helena of France; and her quality, she said, was aunt to the king. This assertion was sufficient; she was immediately declared guilty of conspiring against the Republic, and executed the same day. She was followed to the scaffold by twenty-five persons condemned at the same time, but was not suffered to fall under the edge of the fatal axe, till the heads of all her fellow-sufferers had been struck off. That amiable and most virtuous princess did not suffer for any crimes of her own, but for the offences of others, which were falsely imputed to her. The revolutionary tribunal itself considered her death as a political necessity. The murder of one, however, so renowned for innocence of manners, and benevolence of disposition, without even the pretext of a crime, distinguishes the horrors of France, at this period, and stamps a character that is their own, in the annals of human cruelty. Having ascended the scaffold, she immediately cast up her eyes to heaven, and, prostrate on her knees and wringing her hands, demanded of the king of kings that fortitude, which the horrors of her situation had rendered so necessary. Having continued in prayer till the moment when she was to submit her head to the ensanguined instrument, she advanced with the greatest composure, with a kind of heroism inspired by religion, and perfectly resigned to the decree of Providence. Though she bled the last among her twenty-five fellow-sufferers, she displayed a fortitude superior to them all. In her prayer she resembled the celebrated Magdalen of le Brun, which used formerly to be an object of admiration to the curious in the church of the Carmelites at Paris. When she was passing in the cart through Rue St. Honore, several attentive spectators could discern even in the eyes of her executioner an expression of pity, which, in similar cases, rises often superior to constraint. All the other ladies who suffered with the princess, were either so very old, so discoloured, so disfigured by rouge, or so very filthy and ragged

ragged in their dress, that the sight of them almost smothered the rising sentiment of compassion.

Some time prior to this savage execution, thirteen persons were condemned, mostly nobles, widows of nobles, and counsellors of the late parliaments. Among these the heart of every reader of feeling will bleed to read the name of the venerable and excellent Mons. Lamoignon de Maleherbes, one of the official defenders of the late king. His crime may be easily imagined. He was 72 years old. His daughter, Marianne Rozambeau, aged 23, was condemned at the same time.

A letter from the duke of York, dated Tournay, May 13, contained the following intelligence: "Since my last letter no attempt has been made by the enemy to molest any of my posts. On Sunday morning, however, they attacked in great force general Clairfayt's corps, which had the night before crossed the Heule. The action lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till eleven o'clock at night, when general Clairfayt succeeded incompletely, driving them back into the town of Courtray; but, not being able to take possession of the place, he retreated first across the Heule, and afterwards behind the river Mandel; but being still very closely pursued by the enemy, he found himself under the necessity of continuing his march to Thielt, where he has taken up a position in order to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. His loss, I am sorry to say, has been very considerable." The cannonading of Sunday, was most distinctly heard at Ostend; and so heavy was it that *five hundred* discharges of artillery were heard within one hour.

With regard to the army commanded by the duke of York, the French, having succeeded in forcing the passage of the Sambre, had consequently obliged general Kaunitz to retreat, and to take up a position between Rouscroy and Binch, in order to cover Mons, in which he was attacked on the 14th, but had the good fortune to repulse the enemy, with the loss of 5000 men\*, and three pieces of cannon. Upon this success, the emperor immediately determined to march to the duke's assistance, and next day arrived at Tournay, leaving his brother, the arch-duke Charles, to conduct his army to Orchies.

Having now received a reinforcement of 25,000 Austrians, the duke of York, relieved from the necessity of confining himself to a defensive operation, resolved to act offensively, in order, by a joint co-operation with the troops under the com-

\* The duke of York's letter.

mand of general Clairfayt, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders. It was accordingly determined that an attack should be made on the French, on the 17th of May. The army was put in motion about midnight, and proceeding towards Lannoy, waited there till day-break. A vigorous and well supported attack was then commenced, and, it was supposed, that the attack was quite unexpected; for the enemy after a short resistance gave way, and fell back from Lannoy to the village of Roubaix. The duke immediately pursued them with the right wing of his army, and not stopping at Lannoy, pushed forward to Roubaix, where the enemy made a stand, and where they had a very great number both of cavalry and infantry. In their approach to the village, they were severely galled by a heavy discharge of grape shot from a battery. They nevertheless attacked and forced the village, and the French retired, as it was then thought, discomfited, and in great disorder, towards Lille. While one wing of the duke of York's army was thus fortunate, the other, which advanced against the enemy, on the side of Courtray, was equally successful. After the forcing of Roubaix, his royal highness rested for several hours, with a determination to attack the enemy again on the succeeding morning. In pursuance of this determination, the army moved forward on Sunday morning, and the enemy at first made a shew of retiring, and seemed unwilling to hazard another battle; but this, as it afterwards appeared, was only a feint to draw on the allies. The manoeuvre unfortunately succeeded. The gallant soldiers of the British regiments, flushed with victory, pushed forward with alacrity and vigour. After retiring some time, the French at length made a stand, and at seven o'clock in the morning, being reinforced by the whole garrison of Lille, attacked the British detachment on all sides. The greater part of the Austrians posted on the left could not afford any assistance. The conflict now commenced, and with dreadful carnage. Hemmed in by an army of 60,000 men, to retreat was impracticable. In this sad situation, the Austrians quitted the field in great disorder, and the British were left alone to sustain the attack; which they did with a degree of courage increased rather than diminished by the greatness of the danger. It will scarcely be believed that the British were enabled to make good their retreat. Their loss, however, was very great; of about 5000, the amount of the British troops, one thousand at least were killed and wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Ludlow of the first regiment of foot guards, and lieutenant-colonel Manners of the 3d, colonel Drummond of the artillery, major Wright and captain Browne of the 14th regiment, were wounded.

wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Ludlow's wound was in the arm, which was afterwards amputated; and major Wright died of his wounds. The 3d regiment of guards lost one hundred men; the 14th, 37th, and 53d regiments of cavalry suffered also considerably. All the artillery, as might be expected, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with one pair of colours of one of the regiments of guards. The emperor after the battle issued a proclamation, acknowledging the defeat, but calculated to quiet the minds of the people of Tournay.

On the 22d of May, the French, having made an attack upon the combined army, under the command of his Imperial majesty, were repulsed, after a long and obstinate engagement. The attack began at five o'clock in the morning, but did not appear to be serious till towards nine, when the whole force of the enemy, consisting of 100,000 men, was brought against the right wing, with the intention of forcing, if possible, the passage of the Scheldt, in order to invest Tournay. At first they drove in the out-posts, and obliged general Busche's corps, which was posted at Espierre's, to fall back upon the main army; but upon succour being sent, general Walmoden, who commanded the Hanoverians, retained his position. The French, by constantly bringing up fresh troops, were enabled to continue the attack without intermission, till nine o'clock at night. The troops of the right wing being greatly fatigued, it became necessary to support them from the duke of York's wing; for which purpose, besides seven Austrian battalions, the duke detached the second brigade of British, under the command of major general Fox; who conducted themselves with such spirit and gallantry, particularly in the storm of the village of Pontechin, that they forced it with the bayonet. The enemy began to retreat, and during the night withdrew all their posts, and fell back upon Lisle. Seven pieces of cannon and about five-hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the allies; and the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was supposed to amount to little short of 12,000 men\*; which is by no means improbable, as they were exposed to an incessant fire of cannon and musquetry for upwards of twelve hours. The loss on the side of the allies was likewise considerable.

On the same day Bastia †, the capital of Corsica, with several

\* London Gazette.

† Bastia has a very strong fortress, and a commodious haven. It is thought to be the Martinum of the ancients. The Genoese governor used to reside in this city. The inhabitants employ themselves chiefly in sea affairs.

Corsica

several posts upon the heights, surrendered to lord Hood. On the 19th his lordship received a message, that the garrison was desirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in consequence of which, the following note was sent to Gentili, the commandant of the garrison. "Sir, in consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give you terms; and if you will send on board two or three officers, properly authorised to treat, I trust a capitulation will be soon settled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any reason be expected.—HOOD."

This brought on board the *Victory* three officers, who informed lord Hood that Gentili, the commandant, would assemble the officers of the several corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place; which was agreed to, a little before sun-set. Next day his lordship received from Gentili an answer to his letter. "My lord, in consequence of the proposal which you have made, I have the honour of sending to you two adjutant-generals of the army, and two members of the administrative corps of this town, who are commissioned to present to you the plan of a capitulation between the garrison and inhabitants of Bastia, and you, my lord, in the name of the king of Great Britain. These four commissioners, who equally possess my confidence, and that of the garrison and of the citizens, have instructions to arrange with you the settlement of all matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you will be satisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the views you have signified to me, of putting an end to the unavoidable consequences of the calamities of war. Captain Young has had a long conference with me. I was of opinion, that a reciprocal understanding might co-operate in the success of the negotiation which occupied our attention, and I have requested him to acquaint you with my ingenuous and loyal intentions.—GENTILI."

On the 21st the four gentlemen above mentioned, vice-

Corfica is an island in the Mediterranean. It lies north of Sardinia, and south of Genoa, to which republic it formerly belonged. It is said to have taken its name from a Ligurian female, who distinguished herself by leading a colony there from her own country. This lady was named Corfa Bubulea. It is about forty leagues long, seventeen broad, and one hundred in circumference. The air of this island is not in general wholesome, nor is the soil remarkable for its fertility. It has, however, some rich mines of iron. The vallies afford a tolerable plenty of pasture, wine, oil, and fruits. The whole island is watered by three rivers.

admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and lord Hood's secretary Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Arthur, settled the articles of capitulation, which were signed the following morning, when his majesty's troops took possession of all the posts above the town, the troops in each returning to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole Head, where they grounded their arms, and were embarked, in order to be immediately conveyed to the Port of the Mountain\*. The town of Bastia, the citadel, and all the forts, and out-works, and every thing contained in them, that was not the private property of the garrison or inhabitants, together with the ships of war, and all the vessels lying in the port, were delivered up to his Britannic majesty, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, provisions, or any sort of stores.

About the same time, general baron de Beaulieu, having marched into the duchy of Bouillon, defeated a considerable body of French who covered that canton; and having killed twelve hundred men, and taken three hundred prisoners, with six pieces of cannon, and several caissons, he took possession of the town of Bouillon, and summoned the citadel to surrender, which was refused. The inhabitants having fired upon the Austrians, the town was given up to be pillaged.

On the 24th, general count Kaunitz, having attacked the French army which had passed the Sambre, and had taken a position with its left to Rouveroy, and its right to Fontaine l'Éveque, completely defeated them, and obliged them to retreat in great confusion over the river, which in a short time he intended to pass with his army in pursuit of them. The French lost near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thousand men, three thousand of whom were made prisoners †. The loss of the Austrians was not so great, as they in a manner surprised the enemy.

Marschal Mollendorff, on the same day, surprised the French in their intrenchments in the neighbourhood of Keyserlautern, and defeated them with considerable loss. The force of the French consisted of about twelve thousand men. They were posted behind the defiles of Otterbach, Hagelsbach, and the Lauter. The whole of this country was covered with redoubts and entrenchments; several dykes had been cut, and the bridges were every where destroyed; while three strong positions were prepared, to facilitate their retreat in case of accidents. The loss of the French amounted to one thousand killed, more

\* Toulon.

† London Gazette.

than two thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. After the engagement Marschal Mollendorff established his head quarters at Winnweiler, and the prince of Hohenloe Ingelfingen took possession of Neustadt.

On the following day, the French made an inroad into the duchy of Luxembourg, with an army of forty thousand men, and took possession of Arlon, which obliged general Beaulieu, who had taken the town of Bouillon by storm, to retire, and to fall back on Marche in order to cover Namur. The advanced posts of the Prussian army extended as far as Deux-Ponts and Carlsberg.

Much about this period, authentic accounts were received at Barcelona of the total defeat of the Spanish troops. It was stated, that half the army was killed or taken. The whole of the artillery, consisting of one hundred and thirty pieces, fell into the hands of the French, together with all the baggage, camp-equipage, provision, stores, straw, barley, ammunition, and arms, as well as all the sick and wounded that were in Ceret, Arles, and Pratto del Mollo. The French were therefore expected to lay siege to Collicure and Bellegarde at the same time, as they were sufficient in force to make these attempts, and with too great prospect of success.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Assassinations attempted.---French victories announced.---The Emperor's address to the inhabitants of the Netherlands.---Affairs of Poland.---Lord Howe's victorious engagement with the French.---Divisions in the Convention on the organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal.---Military operations on the Continent and in the West Indies.---Union of Corsica to the Crown of Great Britain.*

**I**N the sitting of the convention of the 25th of May, it was announced, that an attempt had been made to assassinate Collot d'Herbois in the street, by a man named Admiral, who had discharged a pistol at him. The assassin, after this attempt, went to his house, where he resolved to defend himself. Collot, who was accompanied by a man named Geoffroi, called in the aid of a patriot, and



was desirous to ascend to the apartment in which the assassin had placed himself. As the latter had, however, again loaded his pistol, and threatened to fire on any one who should approach, Geoffroi resisted the determination of Collot d'Herbois, who, in spite of the menaces of the assassin, still persisted in his resolution and addressed him thus; "I command you, in the name of the people, to stay where you are. I will either perish in the attempt, or will secure the assassin; and I deem it conformable to the practice of virtue and probity to exterminate such monsters." He then went up to the apartment, opened the door, and received the fire of the assassin. Admiral had been a domestic in the family of Bertin, and served on the 10th of August in one of the Paris battalions. He had afterwards been attached to a corps of volunteers, from which he had been dismissed for misconduct, and his life contained several other similar passages.---It was likewise announced, that an attempt had been made on the life of Robespierre. On the 23d, a young woman, named Aimée Cecil Regnault, the daughter of a stationer, went to his house, and from the singularity of her inquiries created a suspicion; she was in consequence apprehended, and taken before the committee of public safety. On being interrogated, her answers (which warmly expressed her attachment to the late king) evidently betrayed a design to follow the example of Charlotte Cordé, by assassinating Robespierre. The convention attributed this plot to the machinations of the British ministry, and declared the English government guilty of *Leze Humanité*. They also passed a decree, "That no quarter should be given to the English or Hannoverian soldiers." Many were of opinion, that the attempt upon Robespierre was merely a stratagem, to render the man more popular with his satellites.

*Barrere*, in his speech on the abovementioned savage decree, adverted to the time of Hebert and Danton, when a correspondence was established between Paris and London, to keep up a constant circulation of atrocious calumnies, and of plots tending to cut off certain members of the convention. He expatiated on the rumours circulated in the English papers, respecting the pretended assassination of the committees of public and general safety; and on the plan of a dictatorship, which the court of London ascribed to Robespierre, with a view to render him odious. He complained, as an especial grievance, that in the English journals the troops of the republic were styled "*The soldiers of Robespierre*;" the French armies, intitled Conventional Gangs of Robbers and Cut-throats; and a despotism injurious

to the national representation ascribed to the committee of public safety. Thus, continued Barrere, have the English constantly aimed at bewildering the public opinion: At the first period of the revolution, they insinuated, that we only fought for a change of government. At the second, they endeavoured to instil a belief, that there was in France a secret plan of dictatorship, which they ascribed to the committee, who intended to transfer it afterwards to Robespierre. Calumnies, such as these, may be considered as a phantom, which their enemies whirl at will over the heads of the incorruptible republicans, whose fertile labours, seconded by the courage of the armies, and the might of the people, will baffle all their malicious designs. Barrere next accused the English government of having purchased corn in France, not for consumption, but to leave it to rot and decay, of having intercepted the corn by sea, to starve the French; of having corrupted the human species; of having destroyed one part of mankind to enslave the other; of having formed the best concerted plan to organize murder; and of having put in execution a regular plan of famine.

Barrere then read an address to the armies of the republic, the purport of which was adopted by the convention. It is as follows: "England is capable of every outrage on humanity, and of every crime towards the republic. She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty. How long will ye suffer her armies to continue on your frontier. The English brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. They massacred our brethren at Genoa, and burnt our magazines in the maritime towns. They have corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. They have starved our plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers. When the event of battles shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country they have laid waste. Carry your view to la Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which their atrocious policy has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and Machiavelian government. When they fall into your hands, republican soldiers, be sure to strike; give them no quarter; let not one of them return to the traitorous territory of England, or be brought into France."

This atrocious decree of the convention, however, that could proceed only from the most infuriated spirits, is nobly contrasted

contrasted by the judicious and humane manifesto of the Duke of York; which no doubt had its due effect on the minds of all the French officers and soldiers in whom there remained the smallest spark of military bravery.

“ His Royal Highness the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the national convention of France, pursuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has distinguished the period of its government, as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarters to the British and Hanoverian troops. His royal highness anticipates the indignation and horror which will naturally arise in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His royal highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in the soldier’s character, and he exhorts them all not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may fully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His Royal Highness believes it will be difficult for brave men to conceive, that any set of men, who are themselves exempted from sharing in the dangers of war, should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders. It was indeed reserved for the present times, to produce to the world the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if founded in truth, could justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention; but is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must themselves see through the flimsy artifice of a pretended assassination, by which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring that military guard, which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign. In all the wars which, from the earliest times, have existed between the British and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies; while the Hanoverians, for a century, the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place when opposition has ceased, and the same clothes have been seen covering wounded enemies, while indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of

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“ the conqueror.” The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe, that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves, as it was disgraceful to the persons who passed it. In this confidence, his Royal Highness trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the National Convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman, who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier. His Royal Highness is confident that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command, will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own consciences, to their country, and to the world. In such an event the French army alone will be answerable for the ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims. His Royal Highness desires that these orders may be read and explained to them at three successive roll callings.”

The next meeting of the convention opened with the announcing of victories. St. Just and Le Vasseur stated, by letter, that the republican general, having marched fifteen thousand men before Mons, had obtained possession of several posts, killed two hundred, made as many prisoners, and spiked several guns. On the 26th, the Austrians had moved forward to attack Mortigny, but had been so severely handled, that, on the following day, they were obliged to break up their encampment, on which occasion they were pursued.—General Dugommier's letter, announcing the capture of Collioure, Port Vendre, and St. Elme, was followed by the articles of capitulation, signed by him and the Spanish general Navarro, being in substance as follow. “ In the name of the French republic, one and indivisible:—The general commanding the Spanish troops at Collioure, and the adjacent posts, shall deliver them up to the French nation. The honours of war shall be granted to the Spanish troops, who shall march from the posts they occupy, drums beating, and colours flying, and shall thus file off before the French army, laying down their arms. They shall return into Spain, after having

having sworn not to serve during the present war against the French republic. An equal number of French prisoners, imprisoned in Spain, shall be sent into France, after having taken a similar oath. All French rebels, traitors, and other conspirators, known under the name of emigrants, and now residing on that part of the territory of the republic still occupied by general Navarro's troops shall be delivered up to the French general\*. The Spanish general shall find six hostages, to secure the conditions of this treaty. All the artillery shall be preserved, and delivered up to the republic, as well as all the warlike stores, provisions, and military effects." The capitulation having been read, Barrere proposed to call saint Elme, Durocher, and to erect at Bagnouls a monument, with these words:—" *Here seven thousand Spaniards laid down their arms before the Republicans.*" These propositions were decreed, and the convention declared, that the army of the Eastern Pyrenees had not ceased to merit well of its country.

About this time, the emperor published the following address to the inhabitants of the Netherlands. " Reverend fathers in God; nobles, dear and liege vassals, dear and well beloved: the mass of the enemy, which has lately precipitated itself on Belgium, rendering your danger very pressing, it becomes necessary to employ all the means in your power, to check the operation of that mass by all the force which it is possible to collect and combine. Our armies have suffered, and stand in need of a large number of recruits; and although we have seen, with as much satisfaction as gratitude, the sacrifices which you have evinced a wish to make, in order to excite our subjects to enter into voluntary engagements, we cannot conceal from you, that as this resource has hitherto been unproductive and unavailing, our army will, perhaps, be no longer in a condition to employ, against an enemy who makes such efforts to invade these provinces, that resistance, and those offensive measures, which have hitherto preserved them. It would be superfluous to recal to your recollection, that hitherto our hereditary states have furnished the major part of those who have defended you; and undoubtedly your Belgic provinces, so flourishing, so populous, and so interested in the success of the war, which unhappily may be attended with their annihilation and total ruin, will not be backward in furnishing men to assist in defence of those provinces. We demand for our army, therefore, from all the provinces,

\* To this last article it was replied, that there were none of that description.

“ a levy of men, and we are persuaded that, penetrated with  
 “ the necessity of satisfying so just a demand, you will only  
 “ pause on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do  
 “ not hesitate to propose to you that which is most conform-  
 “ able to reason, to justice, and to the general interests and  
 “ exigencies of the moment; viz, an equitable assessment on  
 “ all the districts, each of which shall be directed to furnish  
 “ one man in every hundred, as far as regards its general po-  
 “ pulation, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing  
 “ arms. It is to this demand that we immediately expect  
 “ your consent, and your most efficacious concurrence, leav-  
 “ ing, however, to your choice, the best means of satisfying  
 “ it; at the same time informing you, that this extraordinary  
 “ levy is necessary and pressing, that if in the execution of it  
 “ you should stand in need of our sovereign authority, we  
 “ are disposed to grant it to you in the most extensive man-  
 “ ner. You have, it is true, offered several times to raise  
 “ some new corps; but we have considered that it would  
 “ take too much time to organize them, and to train them  
 “ to the military exercise and evolutions; while, on the  
 “ other hand, men mingled among soldiers, will immediately  
 “ render us that service which we expect from them. You  
 “ cannot dissemble.—Your future existence depends perhaps on  
 “ the speedy execution of such an increase of force.—You see  
 “ your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while  
 “ our armies moulder away by our victories and by those  
 “ glorious contests which they are forced so frequently to  
 “ maintain. Besides, the efforts that you will make in this  
 “ respect, cannot be a grievous burthen on a country so po-  
 “ pulous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and  
 “ warlike.”

Towards the end of May, several persons were arrested at Warsaw, among whom were M. Tengorborfky, secretary for the province of Livonia, and a few other gentlemen of distinction. It was supposed that all the parties concerned in signing the late treaty of partition at Grodno would suffer the same fate. Forty thousand Russians were, at this time, marching towards Poland from the Ukraine, and sixteen thousand from Livonia; whilst the Poles prohibited the exportation of grain and all sorts of provisions. When an account of the immense preparations of her imperial majesty was communicated to general Kosciuszko, that great man exclaimed—“ My brave countrymen will soon afford a convincing proof to Russia and the whole world, that men determined to be free cannot be conquered.” The corps of general Kosciuszko consisted of 22,970 men; that of general Kochowski of 18,900; that of Jassinski of 6,000

6,000, stationed at Grodno; a corps of 12,000 at Wilna, and another at Warsaw consisted of 8,000. The peasantry were not included in this calculation. The king had a body-guard of fourteen citizens set over him, of whom two were to be in constant attendance, and to accompany him every where.

By the command of general Kosciuszko, the provisional council at Warsaw was abolished, and a national council instituted. This appointment gave some uneasiness to the citizens, who sent a deputation to the general, complaining of the arbitrary complexion of this measure. The king, it is said, joined in this representation, but he received for answer, that the general would not share the authority, which the nation had entrusted to him, with any other person. As for the rest, the national council were to respect his majesty's advice and direction. The king, pleased with this concession, wrote a letter of thanks to the general, full of patriotic sentiments, professing his determination never to separate his interests from those of the nation. "Mr. Generalissimo," says he, "I have already assured you that I never will remove from my country and my nation, even at the greatest personal risque; that I do not desire authority or power any more, or longer, than you and the nation find it useful to the country. Persisting invariably in this determination, I have received with sensibility, the information you have announced to me, of having ordered the supreme council to make a report to me of all their essential operations. Agreeably to your expectations and desires, I will faithfully communicate to the council all my ideas relative to the welfare of the country. I will moreover concur, conjointly with this council, in all the means which may assure the welfare of the country and the nation. Under the auspices of Providence, let us all hope for the common defence of the intentions and works of all of us who are born Poles—neze—fully and sincerely united. I shall employ myself to attain the proposed end by co-operating, by my example, and by encouraging others. My vows and wishes accompany you every where, and it is from the bottom of the most sincere heart, that I give you the assurance of the highest esteem, and of the affection that I bear you."

Count Potocki, as the new minister of the foreign department, informed all the resident ministers, of the appointment of the national council, by a circular note, in which he expressed, that, as the king had declared that he was inseparably united with the nation and the supreme

council, they would be pleased to address themselves to him upon every occasion which might concern the king and the republic. The supreme national council consisted of the following persons, Count Potocki, as minister for foreign affairs; Chancellor Kolotacz, as minister of Finance; M. Wielowowski, as minister of war; M. Jankiewicz, as minister for national instruction; and Mr. Zakrezewski, as minister of the home department. The council consisted in all of thirty-six members.

On the last day of the month, the national council of Poland issued the following proclamation. "The secret enemies of the country having hitherto shewn an indefatigable activity to sow jealousy and dissention among the brave citizens, and having with this view spread a most malicious and false report against the communities of the protestant religion, as if these peaceful and worthy citizens were keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of our country, the supreme council, under the authority of the commander general Thaddeus Kosciuszko, therefore proclaim to the citizens of Poland.—Whereas it is the most sacred duty of all magistrates, to keep a vigilant eye over the safety of the person of every citizen; and whereas several representations have already been made by the protestant communities, inhabitants of Warsaw, that several members of their communion have been alarmed by the reports circulated, that they were guilty of a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the country, and that they were concealing arms in their houses: the council at first exerted every means in their power to investigate the truth of such a suspicion; and happily these efforts tended to convince them of the malice, which was the only foundation of a calumny, that is entirely void of every shadow of proof. The supreme council being on the contrary convinced of the attachment of those communities to their country and its government, and of the zeal with which they cooperated with the rest of the citizens in the glorious effort which effectuated the restoration of the general independence of the country, can look upon those aspersions only as being founded in calumny and the most inveterate malice, invented by the enemies of the country, who, envious and jealous of the recovered happiness and liberty so long lost by the nation, have had recourse to such means to disturb the tranquillity and internal union which reign amongst the patriots, and to make us return to that licentiousness, which was the consequence of despotic and arbitrary power, the yoke of which we so happily succeeded



“ceeded in shaking off. It is therefore, that the supreme  
“council think it their duty to render justice to that estimable  
“part of the citizens, in declaring and enacting that such  
“persons, as shall in future spread such calumnious rumours,  
“for the purpose of disturbing the general tranquillity and union  
“of the inhabitants, shall be tried as disturbers of the public peace,  
“and as enemies to their country, and shall be condemned to  
“exemplary punishment. This proclamation shall be posted up in  
“all public places, and read from the pulpits of all churches and  
“religious meetings, for three succeeding sundays.”

Great Britain, in all wars, has generally been most successful  
on her natural element; where, perhaps, it would even have been  
the interest of the allies that all her strength should have been  
exerted, from the beginning of the present contest. On the first  
of June, lord Howe obtained a glorious victory over the French  
fleet, of which the following is a detail from his lordship himself.  
“Finding on my return off Brest, on the 19th inst, that the French  
fleet had, a few days before, put to sea; and receiving, on the same  
evening, advices from rear admiral Montagu, I deemed it  
necessary to form a junction with the rear admiral as soon  
as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station, on which  
he meant to wait for the return of the Venus. But having gained  
very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby  
I had reason to suppose the French fleet was then but a few leagues  
farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered  
accordingly. On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were  
discovered by the advanced frigates, far distant on the weather  
bow. The wind was then fresh from the S. by W. with a very rough  
sea. They came down, for some time in a loose order, seemingly  
unapprized that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling  
to the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before  
they could completely form in regular order of battle upon the  
starboard tack; the British fleet continuing as before in the order  
of sailing. The time required for the enemy to perfect their  
disposition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his majesty's  
fleet to them, and for the separately appointed and detached  
part of it, commanded by rear admiral Pasley, to be placed  
more advantageously for making an impression on their rear.  
The signals denoting that intention being made, the rear admiral,  
near upon the close of the day, led his division on with peculiar  
firmness, and attacked a three decked ship\*, the

\* The Revolutionaire.

“ sternmost in the enemy’s line. Making known soon  
“ after that he had a top-mast disabled, assistance was directed to be given to him in that situation. The quick  
“ approach of night only allowed me to observe, that lord  
“ Hugh Seymour (Conway) in the *Leviathan*, with equal  
“ good judgment and determined courage, pushed up along  
“ side of the three decked French ship, and was supported, as  
“ it appeared, by captain Parker, of the *Audacious*, in the  
“ most spirited manner. The darkness which now prevailed, did not admit of my making any more accurate  
“ observations on the conduct of those ships, and others  
“ concerned in the same service; but I have since learnt,  
“ that the *Leviathan* stretched on farther a-head, for bringing the second ship from the enemy’s rear to action, as  
“ soon as her former station could be occupied by a succeeding British ship; also that the three-decked ship  
“ in the enemy’s rear, as aforesaid, being unsustained by  
“ their other ships, struck to the *Audacious*, and that they  
“ parted company together soon after. The two opponent  
“ fleets continued on the starboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to the windward the remainder of  
“ the night. The British fleet appearing in the morning  
“ of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough  
“ advanced for the ships in the van to make some farther  
“ impression on the enemy’s rear, was tacked in succession  
“ with that intent. The enemy wore hereupon from van  
“ to rear, and continued edging down a line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet; when arrived at such  
“ distance as to be just able to reach our most advanced  
“ ships, their headmost ships, as they came successively into the wake of their respective seconds a-head, opened  
“ with that fire upon the headmost ships of the British van.  
“ The signal for passing through their line, made when the  
“ fleet tacked before, was then renewed. It could not be  
“ for some time seen, through the fire from the two fleets in  
“ the van, to what extent that signal was complied with.  
“ But as the smoke at intervals dispersed; it was observed  
“ that the *Cæsar*, the leading ship of the British van, after  
“ being about on the starboard tack, and come a-breast of  
“ the *Queen Charlotte*, had not kept to the wind; and that  
“ the appointed movement would consequently be liable to  
“ fail of the proposed effect. The *queen Charlotte* was  
“ therefore immediately tacked; and followed by the *Bellerophon*, her second a-stern (and soon after joined by the  
“ *Leviathan*) passed through in action, between the fifth and  
“ sixth ships in the rear of the enemy’s line. She was put  
about

“ about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermost situation. The rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward and without the sternmost ships, mostly of the French line, the enemy wore again to the Eastward, in succession for succouring the disabled ships of their rear; which intention, by reason of the then disunited state of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ships, the *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan* at that time near me, I was unable to obstruct. The enemy having succeeded in that operation, wore round again, after some distant cannonading of the nearest British ships, occasionally returned, and stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order (but with the weather gage retained) as soon as the ships coming forward to close with the *Queen Charlotte*, were suitably arranged. The fleets remained separated some few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted most part of the two next days.”

Lord Howe, satisfied with completely beating the French fleet, and announcing the event, left it to others to relate the particulars. There were circumstances, however, which, in justice to his lordship, and the fleet under his command, ought to be made known to the public. The action of the 29th of May, on which his lordship but just touches in his letter, was long and well contested. The damage sustained by the enemy on that day, accelerated their defeat on the 1st of June. Four of their ships were so completely beaten, that the French admiral sent them away the next day, which a reinforcement of four ships enabled him to do, without lessening his original number. The fact, therefore, is, that lord Howe, with twenty-six ships of the line, beat thirty-one of the enemy.

It was particularly requested by lord Howe, previous to his engagement with the French, that the sailors belonging to the different ships should be very sparing in drinking spirituous liquors, and that they should patiently wait until after the action, when all those who escaped the perils of the fight, should be rewarded in that, or any other way they might think proper to mention. The noble admiral himself declared in his own ship: “Wait, my lads, until the glorious business is finished, and then we’ll all get drunk together.”

Never was news announced with greater *clat* than the above. The managers of the theatres, with cheerful alacrity

crity and unaffected delight, imparted the glorious intelligence. At Covent Garden, the communication was peculiarly *apropos*, for it succeeded the technical narration of a sea-fight, so animatedly told by Fawcett. The colours were brought on the stage, and the house, as if inspired by one sentiment, joined in those noblest of all choruses, "Rule Britannia,"—"Britons strike home," and "God save the King." At the Opera House the band with a noble crash, struck up, "Rule Britannia." The sublimest efforts of the most celebrated composers never excited more enthusiastic admiration than this popular air did from the Amateurs of Old England. "God save the King," succeeded. Banti, Morichelli, Morelli, and Rovediro, with all the energies of heart, as well as voice, joined the loyal strain. But the triumph of a happy people did not end with the night, the succeeding day bore witness to their loyal exultation; the bells pealed merrily during the whole of the morning; constant discharges of ship guns were heard, and every flag was hoisted in compliment to Lord Howe. The illuminations of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, were splendid and universal, without the exception of the most obscure lane or alley. In every part of London and Westminster, the joy of the inhabitants played in unison. In short, there was a general blaze, in testimony of our victory on the *native element* of Englishmen, and every countenance indicated the triumph peculiar only to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

When the conquering fleet, with their prizes, appeared in the Offing, crowds of people were soon collected on the ramparts; and when the Queen Charlotte dropped anchor at Spithead, the guns on the batteries were fired. When Earl Howe landed at the new Sally port, a second discharge of artillery took place. His lordship was received with the reiterated shouts of the people, collected together in astonishing numbers. A captain's guard of the Gloucester militia, was drawn up on the lower end of the grand parade, with the band of the regiment playing, till his lordship came up to them, "The conquering Hero comes!" The streets, tops of houses, balconies, windows, grand parades, and the ramparts from the queen's battery, to the main guard, were entirely crowded beyond all example, and their shouts rent the air.

On the 3d of June, the combined army under the command of the hereditary prince of Orange, attacked the French who were posted at Fontaine l'Eveque, in order to cover a part of their forces, which were besieging Charle-

roi\*, and compelled them to raise the siege, and return across the Sambre.

About this time great divisions arose in the convention, on the subject of giving a new form and new powers to the revolutionary tribunal. When the report of this measure was made by Couthon, in the name of the committee of public safety, of which he was now one of the most active members, Bourdon, representative for the department de l'Oise, and la Cointre, representative for Versailles, who had, for some time past, conceived great jealousy of the ambitious projects of Robespierre and his party, demanded an adjournment of the business. They had sufficient penetration to see, that even the members of the convention were exposed to accusations before the tribunal, where little mercy was likely to be shewn to those who were the objects of Robespierre's resentment. These objections, however, were warily opposed by Robespierre. "I observe," says he, "that the enemies of the public good, are particularly active to deprive us of the fruits of our labours. We consent to die, but we wish that the country and the convention may be saved."

As soon as the convention met the next day, Couthon rose and said, "It has been pretended, that the committee of public safety were aiming to attack the national representation, and to arrogate the right of sending its members before the revolutionary tribunal. An attempt has been made to accuse us of motives of ambition. Some have dared to calumniate the committee, and the far greater part of the members who compose this convention, because they know that they are actuated by principles of the purest patriotism, and are anxious for the happiness of the people. One member of this description is Bourdon de l'Oise. I am not afraid to name him. He showed his bad intention yesterday, in his disposition to circumscribe the power of the committee of public safety. He seems to coincide in opinion with Pitt, who gives out, in his speech in the British parliament, that the committee of public safety arrogates to itself the sovereign power." Bourdon de l'Oise upon this rose, and said he would never silently allow such a scandalous reflection to be thrown upon him, as that he had ever spoken like Pitt. He

\* Charleroi is a fortified city of the Pays-Bas, in the earldom of Namur, upon the frontiers of Hainault. It is situated upon a high hill, which is watered by the Sambre, and is about five leagues from Namur, and six from Mons. Before it was fortified by the Spaniards, in 1666, it was only a market town known by the name of Charnoi. It received its present name from Charles II. king of Spain.

and the Mountain maintained that they were as good patriots as the committee of public safety.

Robespierre now rose, and pronounced a long discourse, in the course of which he observed, "That after the overthrow of Brissot, other conspiracies had been secretly formed; by means of which, suspicion had been attempted to be sown, relative to the *intentions* of the committee of public safety. Wherefore," exclaimed he, "would Bourdon divide the Mountain from the committee of public safety? Citizens, the Mountain, the Convention, and the committee of public safety, are one and the same. (*Loud Plaudits*) Behold then a project of intrigue in these distinctions; therefore there are intrigues." "Name them," cries Bourdon. "I will not name any person, for the intriguers discover themselves. (Great applause) were here manifested by the galleries, which Robespierre took care should be always filled with his friends). One fact will tend to prove, that there are people who wish to divide us, and bereave us of the people's confidence. They endeavoured yesterday to slander us, after passing the decree: they accosted two messengers belonging to the committee with, 'What do you do here? What do you mean? You are two of the 20,000 spies belonging to the committee of public safety?' cried they. 'Citizens,' replied the messengers, '*we are good citizens, and wish not to act as spies on any one.*' This fact is exactly as I state it. Behold a new system of overturning liberty, by attacking me and my friends; we consent to die, but during our lives, we will not permit the republic to fall before a few intriguers. I shall state another circumstance. The following expressions were heard in the hall: 'The committee of public safety wishes to guillotine us; but we will bring others to the guillotine.' Citizens, these ideas are the same with those of Lacroix; of that conspirator whose remorse and terror induced him to exclaim instantaneously, 'They wish to guillotine us.' In short, all this proves the existence of intriguers who wish to divide us. Do not suffer yourselves to be governed by intrigue and cabal; come to our assistance, and take not away your confidence from those who deserved it." Tallien endeavoured to clear up the circumstance relative to the couriers; he observed, "That five persons came and endeavoured to join in the conversation between him and two of his colleagues, during their walk on the terrace, but there was not a single word," he said, "relative to any officers being kept by the committee." Robespierre asserted, "that 300 persons were witnesses of the fact, and that it

" was

“ was odious to add untruth to crime !” Barrere, in support of what had been said by Robespierre, observed, “ That England was continually inventing calumnies and scenes atrociously meditated, in order to misrepresent the committees of public safety, and general surety; that *Priur* of Marne now at Brett, had found newspapers on some of the English prisoners, in which an account was given of the masquerades at London. At one of these there was a mask representing Charlotte Cordé, who shook a poinard over the head of Robespierre; and a sleep-walker, who said, *that the French would one day speak their minds of him as the English did.*”

Upon this occasion Bourdon de l’Oise observed, “ That the convention had entrusted to the committees of public and general safety, the right of carrying before the revolutionary tribunal such as they shall deem to have incurred the severity of national justice. Does this right,” said he, “ extend to members of the convention, whom also they can order to the tribunal ?” Upon hearing *murmurs*, he thus expressed himself. “ I love those consolatory murmurs, by which I am satisfied that liberty can never perish, and that you did not mean to confer on the two committees the right of carrying the members before the revolutionary tribunal. I move that you formally pronounce, that the committees shall still preserve the salutary right of apprehending, whenever it may be necessary, the representatives of the people, but they shall not bring them before the revolutionary tribunal, without a previous decree of accusation, framed by the assembly. A division on this question being called for, a member observed, “ that such an idea could not possibly be conceived, “ as that of giving such a power as the above, to the two committees. But,” added he, “ as the decree in question abrogates all the preceding laws, I demand that the one which regards the *inviolability* of the national representation may be again in force.” *Merlin* of Douay proposed to decree, that the national representation had an exclusive right to pass decrees of accusation against its own members, and to have them tried before the criminal tribunals. This he thought was an unalienable right.

The convention after decreeing the proposition proceeded to the organization of the revolutionary tribunal, in the following manner. 1. The revolutionary tribunal shall consist of a president, three vice presidents, a public accuser, four deputies, twelve judges, and fifty jurors. 2. It shall be divided into smaller tribunals, of twelve members each, seven of whom at least shall be present at any trial

trial. 3. The traitors, whom the tribunal shall try, consist of those who have aimed at the re-establishment of royalty, and have endeavoured to degrade the convention, and dissolve the revolutionary government;—of those having military employments, who have thrown impediments in the way of the army supplies, as well at Paris as elsewhere;—of those who shall have connived at the flight of the conspirators and aristocrats, and shall have sheltered them from punishment, abusing the principles of the revolution by false and perfidious applications;—of those who shall have attempted to induce the representatives of the people to adopt plans detrimental to the interest of liberty;—of those who shall have discouraged the people to favour the attempts of tyrants;—and lastly, of those who either directly or indirectly, shall have endeavoured to misguide their fellow citizens, to corrupt the public mind and conscience, and to stop the progress of revolutionary principles by corrupting them. 4. In pronouncing sentence of death the necessary proofs consist of every description of document, whether material, moral, verbal, or written, which carries with it a self-evidence. 5. The rule of the sentences is the conscience of the jurors; their aim is the security of the triumph of liberty, and the process the means which good sense shall indicate to establish the validity of the facts. 6. Every citizen is bound to denounce to a magistrate any traitor, but not to carry him or her before the revolutionary tribunal; the convention, the committees of public safety and general security, the representatives of the people employed in missions, and the public accuser, alone excepted. 7. Secret interrogatories are suppressed. 8. If there are material or moral proofs, independently testimonial ones, the witnesses shall not be heard, unless it be to come at accomplices. 9. The law allows, to patriots under accusation, patriotic jurors for their officious defenders, but denies these to conspirators.

On the 9th of June, the following letter from Rochefort, written by a French officer, was read in the national convention. “We are here between two arms of the river” “Loire. We mount guard on the banks of the river, “where we have intrenchments in its whole extent. At half “a league from the other side of the river, are the banditti. “We are every day upon guard; we have not a single day “of rest. We sometimes go out to reconnoitre; passing the “river in a barge. I was present at three expeditions, and “took, for my own part, oxen, cows, and effects, from the “banditti, for which I received three assignats for one hundred livres. Four companies are in the isle of Rochefort, and  
“four



“ four others in the isle of Chalonne. We are always ready  
 “ to cannonade those banditti who may be disposed to cross  
 “ the arm of the river. At the distance of three leagues  
 “ from Nantz, our troops made a fortié where they gave a  
 “ proper drubbing to the remains of Charett’s army. One  
 “ of his aids-du-camp has been taken prisoner. By his de-  
 “ claration, several subterraneans have been discovered, in  
 “ which the rebels had concealed provisions and military  
 “ stores.”

After the report from the committee of Finance was read, the convention decreed. 1. That for the present year alone, an extraordinary *war contribution* shall be established. That this contribution shall consist of the tenths of the sums carried to the lists of the forced loan established by the law of the 3d of September last, old stile. 2. That this extraordinary contribution shall attach upon all those, whose names are contained in such lists, in the proportion fixed by the first article, and according to the sum at which they have been assessed. 3. That for this purpose there shall be made, but in each municipality, in the decade after the publication of the present decree, a particular list of all persons assessed, in the lists of the forced loan. 4. The lists of the extraordinary war contribution shall be closed and examined by the municipality, and remitted to the receiver in the next decade. 5. These new lists shall contain four columns: In the first shall be inscribed the names of persons assessed; in the second, the sum assessed; in the third, the half of the sum forming the quota of the person assessed; and the fourth shall be reserved for the account of payments made. 6. This contribution shall be paid by one-third at a time, from month to month, beginning from the day of the publication of the lists. The assessed persons, who shall neglect paying, shall be proceeded against in such a manner as the law prescribes in matters of contribution. 7. The produce shall be paid monthly by the receiver into the hands of the receiver of the district. The produce collected at Paris shall be paid directly into the national treasury within the decade, after the expiration of the time appointed for the payment of the sums assessed. 8. The national agents in the districts and communes shall take care, as far as relates to them, that the present decree is carried into execution. They shall be made responsible.

The following proclamation of Kosciusko, commander in chief of the armed force of Poland, was issued at this period. “ As the troops of the king of Prussia are now  
 “ in open alliance with the Russians against this nation; as  
 “ they

"they have already passed those frontiers, which even the  
 "usurpers had assigned to us; and as they rob us of the coun-  
 "try incontestibly our own; in fine, as our country finds  
 "itself exposed to the inhuman violence of the enemy in this  
 "war, undertaken by us in defence of our liberty, our in-  
 "tegrity and independence,—it becomes us so much the  
 "more to give another direction to the armed force of our  
 "nation. In consequence, I give orders by the present  
 "writing, to all commanders of the regular troops, to pe-  
 "netrate immediately beyond the frontiers arrogated by  
 "Prussia and Russia, to publish there the insurrection of the  
 "Poles, and to animate the people, abused by the yoke of  
 "slavery, to ally themselves with us, and to rise against  
 "their oppressors. As I have already ordered a requisition  
 "of a general levy in Poland and Lithuania, by the present,  
 "I order all the commanders to penetrate immediately, with  
 "the volunteers under their command, or with those peasants  
 "who can find means to escape from the tyranny of their lords,  
 "into the countries taken from Poland, and to advance  
 "even into those which have been more anciently possessed  
 "by Prussia and Russia, and to assist the inhabitants who  
 "are desirous of regaining the liberty of their country. I  
 "recommended it to all those commanders to conduct them-  
 "selves as brothers with all those who are willing to second  
 "our efforts, having no other end but their happiness.  
 "Nothing is to be regarded as a legitimate booty but what  
 "belongs either to Russia or Prussia. I declare, in the  
 "name of the nation, which now rises against usurping  
 "and tyrannic force, which punishes the traitors to their  
 "country, and which will recompense all faithful citizens,  
 "and courageous defenders of their country, that the as-  
 "sures to every chief, to every commander of the national  
 "force, and of the general levy, in recompense of their  
 "future services, the national property and possessions  
 "which the nation will confiscate upon all traitors to their  
 "country. As, in fine, the happy success of this enter-  
 "prize depends particularly upon its prompt execution, I  
 "charge all the commanders to transfer the war, as soon  
 "as possible, into the above mentioned countries. This  
 "may the more easily be effected, as by the enemy's force  
 "having entered our country, the greatest part of their own  
 "neighbouring territories remain without defence, inso-  
 "much, that in some places there are but few troops re-  
 "maining; and in others none at all."

A rumour now prevailed that there were great divisions,  
 on the subject of the war in Spain, and that a negotiation  
 had been entered on for peace; when the French demand-

ed the four following concessions as preliminaries: 1. That the Spanish court should acknowledge the French republic. 2. That they should consent to receive as minister plenipotentiary from France, their late agent at Madrid. 3. That they should restore all places taken from the French during the war. 4. That they should renounce all connection with the French branches of the house of Bourbon.—As it is not in the power of Spain to do much more, if any more, than protect herself, the confederacy would not suffer much by her defection, provided she were to remain perfectly neutral: but it seems to be in the nature of men, that powers thus falling off from general confederacies become armed mediators for general peace.

On the 14th, of June, lieutenant colonel Pitcairn with the eighth regiment, of light dragoons, and the 38th and 55th regiments of foot, joined the garrison of Ostend. Major-general de Hammerstein, under whose command they were, had failed in an attack he made the day before on a very superior force of the enemy at Ghists. After the action he retreated to Thourout, and in the night, falling back himself with the Hanoverians to Bruges, he ordered the British troops to Ostend.

A few days after, an officer arrived at the duke of York's camp, from the hereditary prince of Orange, with an account that he had attacked and defeated the French army, which had again passed the Sambre, and taken up a position near Josselies, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches. The enemy's loss was computed at above seven thousand men \*, as well as twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. They retreated in the greatest confusion across the Sambre.

On the 16th, the municipality of Chapelle Franciade presented an ear of corn at the bar of the convention the produce of the present harvest. Barrere then spoke as follows:—"The valuable present that has just been offered you, seems to be the forerunner of the happy news I am about to communicate. The convoy of *one hundred and sixteen* vessels coming from America, has entered our ports, and brings us *sustenance of all kinds*. Our news on the Alps, and towards the North, is equally good. Our troops have retaken possession of the Palatinate. Pirmasens is our own again; and the army of the Rhine is every where victorious. But an object still more important is, the *provisoning* of the republic. Here, then, is an end of that

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troops in the emperor's service) six battalions of Hessian foot, two battalions of Baden in the pay of Great Britain, two hundred horse chasseurs, and one hundred and fifty Austrian cannoneers. The artillery of the place consisted of about one hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the French again crossed the Sambre, in several columns. The allies made little opposition, and the French, under cover of the important posts which they occupied on this side of the river, accomplished their object without any difficulty. They advanced to Josselies, when, after a warm cannonade, they took possession of the very ground from which they had been driven on the 16th. The allies did not retreat, but in consequence of several skirmishes, in which they found themselves obliged to yield to a great superiority of numbers. General Beaulieu immediately moved to a post between Gembloux and Mazy, in order to cover Namur. General Latour, with another column, took possession of an advantageous position between Jemappe and Chapelle Herlemont, while general Alvenzy took a position to cover Nivelles, Binch, and Mons. Orders were given to form an abbatiss, and to raise redoubts in the forest of Saignies, to prevent the French from penetrating to Brussels by accoup de main. Every day was now marked by skirmishes fought with all the bitterness, which characterises this unfortunate war. On the 20th, the French attacked the post of Chapelle Herlemont, which they carried after a vigorous defence by the Austrians. On the morning of the 21st, after a long and bloody action, the French penetrated to Jemappe. The same day general Latour, aware of the importance of this post, retook it after a very warm action. The French, fearing that they might be cut off, when they found themselves unable to maintain the post, made a precipitate retreat.

In the mean time columns of the enemy threatened Mons and Namur, while a third was bombarding Charleroy. The prince of Saxe Cobourg quitted his position on the Scheldt, in order to succour the army on the Sambre. On the 20th, his head-quarters were at Ath, and the day after he was expected at Halle, a little town only three leagues from Brussels. The Duke of York, with the British and the Hessians, designed to cover Tournay, into which a strong garrison was thrown, as

well as into the fortresses conquered from France, where the heavy artillery was left.

The only probable defence, at this period, against the enemy in West-Flanders, was the grand inundation, which was every hour expected to be ordered—a measure to which the inhabitants had not recourse since the 13th century, and of which the incredible losses have preserved the memory. Whenever it is resorted to, ten years will hardly restore the country to its former situation.

In Brussels the approach of the enemy occasioned an alarm, which it is impossible to describe. The government ordered all the archives to be packed up. The court and the minister put their effects on board of boats, and the treasury was sent to Malines. The magazines were emptied with the utmost precipitation. One fourth of the inhabitants at least went away, with all the property they could carry with them. All the roads were covered with carriages, in such confusion as nothing could surpass. The greater part of the French emigrants fled; the remainder offered to take up arms, and were divided into six companies under the command of the Count de Caraman.

On the morning of the 24th, the duke of York's army, who were encamped near Tournay, struck their tents, and after a short march, arrived at Renaix, where they lay for some time in the open air, the troops being too much fatigued to pitch their tents. On their march, the light horse took thirty of the French in a small village, just as they were going to sit down to their dinner, without the loss of a man on either side. Colonel Craig, who had set out for England the day before, was the first who discovered the necessity of decamping. Upon his arrival at Oudenarde, he found that the enemy had obliged General Clairfayt to retire in some confusion to Ghent, and that the communication between that place and Oudenarde, unless by a great detour, was entirely cut off. Thinking it was necessary the duke of York should have this information as soon as possible, he returned in the night. This movement of the enemy, by bringing them nearer to the banks of the Scheldt, rendered the position before Tournay, which since the departure of the prince of Cobourg, had always been hazardous, no longer tenable; and therefore the duke quitted it, leaving only a garrison in the town, and

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marched,

marched, with all the British and part of the Hessian troops, to Renaix, in order to be in readiness to support Oudenarde, which was now menaced, and actually summoned. "Our leaving Tournay," says one of the officers in a letter to his friend, "was one of the most affecting scenes I ever witnessed. As we went through the town, the few inhabitants who remained there were standing in groupes, with melancholy countenances, the female part crying, and some wringing their hands, lamenting the departure of the British army, as the forerunner of their approaching destruction by the Carmagnols."

The retreat of Gen. Clairfayt now rendered it impossible for general Walmoden to support himself with so small a body of troops as he had under his command at Bruges. He therefore found it necessary to abandon that place, and to fall back to Landmarck and join general Clairfayt's right flank. The consequences of these movements, though necessary, were exceedingly unpleasant, as thereby all communication with Ostend was cut off.

Next day a party of the French, consisting of between four and five hundred, entered Bruges by the gate of Menin. The following submission, printed in large characters, both in French and Dutch, was immediately posted up in different parts of the town. "The Burgomasters, elders, and council of the city of Bruges, in Flanders, for and in the name of all the inhabitants of the said city, declare to have submitted, as they do submit, by these presents, the city of Bruges, the works, and its territory, to the armies and the sovereignty of the French Republic, without any previous condition or restriction whatever. Meanwhile French generosity and loyalty are too generally known for the magistracy of Bruges not to flatter themselves with obtaining of the high and puissant Republic, the following terms and articles. 1. The maintenance of the individual safety of the inhabitants and their property. 2. The full and entire liberty of the exercise of the religion to which every one is attached. 3. That none of the inhabitants be troubled or marked out for his opinions, or his political conduct anterior to this present submission. 4. That those of the inhabitants whom the terror of the circumstances made quit their home, be allowed to return, without being considered as having emigrated, or any ways molested or  
"made

“ made accountable on this subject. Done in the camp before Bruges, June 25, 1794, in the second year of the French Republic.”

On the 27th, the French made another attempt upon Oudenarde, which they cannonaded the whole day, and even carried in the afternoon the Fauxbourg, but were driven out again in the night, when they retreated to a small distance.

• In the evening of the same day, the duke of York received the disagreeable intelligence of the prince of Cobourg's having failed in his attack upon the French army at Josselies and Fleurus, as well as of the surrender of Charleroi; of which the following is a translation. Although there was great reason to suspect that Charleroi was already in the hands of the enemy, yet as no certain intelligence could possibly be procured, the attack, which had been determined upon for its relief, became necessary to prevent so important a place from being left to chance. In consequence, the army marched on the 25th in five columns, and early on the morning of the 26th attacked the enemy's entrenched position, Lambusart, Elpinies, and Josselies. The attack, which was executed with great resolution, was every where successful, and the enemy's advanced corps, although protected by strong redoubts, were driven back. In the evening, the left wing arrived at the principal heights on this side of the Sambre. The ground here forms a gentle declivity, which the enemy had fortified by a very extensive line of redoubts, on which they had brought an immense number of cannon. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the left wing attempted to force the enemy's position with fixed bayonets. But the surrender of Charleroi, which took place on the evening of the 25th, having enabled the enemy to reinforce themselves with the besieging army, and thus to bring the greatest part of their force against our left wing, this advantage, added to those of their situation, and of the quantity of heavy artillery, enabled them to repulse our attack. The troops, nevertheless, formed again under the fire of the enemy's guns, and would have renewed the attack with the same resolution, had not the certainty of the fall of Charleroi, now confirmed by the report of prisoners, and by several other circumstances, determined our general officers not to expose our brave troops any farther,

“ farther. They halted to remove the wounded, and to  
 “ give the infantry time to rest ; and then began the re-  
 “ treat, which was effected with the greatest order, as far  
 “ as Marbais, where the army passed the night, and will  
 “ march to Nivelles to-morrow, in order to cover the  
 “ country as far as is possible, and to protect Namur. Our  
 “ loss is not very considerable, and may perhaps amount  
 “ to 1500 men.”

On the 28th, a republican adjutant-general and a volunteer appeared at the bar of the convention with some trophies of war, when Barrere, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, spoke as follows :

“ We now present you thirty-eight standards of despo-  
 “ tism, which fell into our hands at the capture of Ypres.  
 “ An adjutant has brought them to the bar, in order that  
 “ they may be suspended from the roof, a monument of the  
 “ insolence and cowardice of the enemies of the republic.”  
 Barrere then proceeded to recite a number of instances of  
 heroism which had been displayed by the republican soldiers  
 in the late actions ; after which he proceeded :—“ Paris will  
 “ henceforth be the city with 100 gates, and every gate will  
 “ signalize some triumph or some revolutionary epoch.  
 “ Thus at the site of the *barrier d'Enfer*, we will inscribe  
 “ on both sides—*On such a day 7,000 Spaniards laid down*  
 “ *their arms to the republic ; on the same day Collicure and*  
 “ *port Vendre, sold by treason, were retaken by courage.* The  
 “ citizens of the southern part of the republic will be re-  
 “ minded of our triumph, when they approach the place of  
 “ meeting of the legislators : for example, for the name of  
 “ of *Barriere Blanche* we will substitute *Barriere d'Ypres* ;  
 “ for *St. Martin* the name of the victory of *Fleurus* ;—  
 “ the capture of Charleroi will extinguish the name of the  
 “ the marvellous *St. Denis* ; and, at passing, these words  
 “ will appear on a triumphal arch—*On such a day the gar-*  
 “ *rison of Charleroi surrendered at discretion, and recom-*  
 “ *mended itself to the generosity of republicans.* The  
 “ heroic enterprise of the recapture of Toulon, will be in-  
 “ scribed on the columns dishonoured by the name of *Bar-*  
 “ *riere du Trone.*”

Barrere proceeded in this style to recapitulate the recent victories of the republic. He announced that the volunteer who brought the colours, though taken by the Austrians, rescued himself at the approach of his fellow-citizens, and forcibly wrested the colours from an Austrian ensign ; and concluded with proposing a decree, that the colours



colours taken at Ypres should be suspended from the roof of the hall; which was unanimously adopted.

The remainder of this sitting was chiefly occupied by Thebandeau, who read the fifth number of a collection of the annals of the republic, containing an account of the heroic conduct of individuals in different situations, such as a captain, who, expiring in consequence of wounds which he had received, exclaimed,—“I die! but the republic will live! I willingly devote to it the sacrifice of my life:” “would to God that I had a thousand to bestow in such a cause!” And of another, who having his leg carried off by a cannon-shot, exclaimed, “Long live the Republic! Comrades, revenge it, and I am well.”

The representatives of the French people at the northern army, Richard and Choudieu, about this time published a proclamation in all the places of Flanders of which they had taken possession; in which they stated it to be necessary, for the safety of the “conquered countries,” to put them under the regulations contained in the twelve articles of the above proclamation; the substance of which is, that the inhabitants of the “conquered countries,” being under the special protection of the French Republic, are forbidden to hold any intercourse with the coalesced powers, on pain of being delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. All military commanders are ordered to prevent any excesses being committed against the said countries. All magistrates and others, convicted of causing disturbances against the Republic in any shape whatever, shall be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. The magistrates of the “conquered countries,” are ordered strictly to obey the requisitions made for the Republic. The police of the “conquered countries,” is to be exercised by the military commanders, till otherwise ordered; and all assemblies of the people are strictly forbidden, and the military force ordered to be employed to disperse such meetings. The inhabitants of the “conquered countries” are to give up their arms to the military commanders, in twenty-four hours after the publication of the present; and all those who do not are to be punished with death. Assignats are to be received in all public and commercial transactions; and all those convicted of counterfeiting, or circulating counterfeits, are to be punished according to law. To prevent the rise of the price of provisions, which might be otherwise occasioned by the introduction of assignats, the maximum fixed upon in the city of Lille is to be followed in all the “conquered countries” of West Flanders. All taxes of whatever kind must continue to be paid to the profit of the

republic. The soldiers of the republic are ordered to observe the strictest discipline in the "conquered countries;" and all convicted of being concerned in, or favouring any foreign plot, are to be brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

The following address of the national convention to the citizens and the communes of the republic was also published: "Citizens, when the country was declared in danger, upon its call you sent your youth to the frontiers to defend it; for five years you have shewn yourselves worthy of liberty, by the sacrifices you have made in its cause. The convention do not require of you new sacrifices on the present occasion; they have only to congratulate you upon the abundance which surrounds you, and which Nature seems to have bestowed, in order to crown your generous efforts. Never was your territory, at any period, the seat of such riches. You have in your fields subsistence for yourselves, and for your brothers, who fight for you on the frontiers, and for those who watch over liberty in all the republic. The law now calls you to the preservation of so precious a deposit. When you were surrounded by perfidy and malevolence, severe laws were necessary to over-awe the traitors, who sought to distract and mislead the people, in order to deprive them of subsistence. At present, when the law has removed and punished the conspirators and their accomplices, the representatives of the people address themselves to their republican virtues. They intrust to pure hands the most *luxuriant harvest* which a *free land* has produced. It becomes us, when our dastardly foes, despairing to subdue us by valour, have already attempted to subjugate us by famine, to reduce them again to despair, and frustrate their perfidious efforts, by securing to ourselves all the advantages of abundance. Citizens, in order to attain this object, we must disconcert those manœuvres to which malevolence may still have recourse; in order to strengthen our confidence, the convention wish the resources of the republic to be completely ascertained. A decree has just been passed for this purpose, while it requires every citizen to give an account of the produce of his harvest, it suggests how that object may be attained by the most simple means. While his brothers shed their blood in his defence, who will refuse to submit to a census, which tends to secure their subsistence? Who is he whose heart does not desire a measure so salutary, and who will not be eager to con-  
our in it, as soon as the intention of the law shall be  
made

“made known to him? If there shall remain among you  
“any selfish person so insensible to the wants of his country,  
“as not to comply with the spirit of the law, or endea-  
“vour to elude it, let him be declared; let the law that  
“moment punish his infidelity, and let his name, unwor-  
“thy to be placed among those of the republicans, be in-  
“scribed on the shameful list of suspected citizens. But  
“the law, it is to be hoped, will not find among you any  
“individuals so base. It belongs to slaves, who have no  
“country, to think only of their own petty interests. Here  
“all republicans are brothers; the means and the wants of  
“the same family are common to all its members. This  
“sacred maxim is now recognized in all quarters of the  
“republic. It exists in the hearts of those worthy citi-  
“zens, of those respectable communes, who without be-  
“ing required have shared, and still share, their means  
“of subsistence with their brothers in the neighbouring  
“departments. Such are the instances which history will  
“collect with enthusiasm; such is the heroism of repub-  
“licans, which ought to make despots tremble. Citizens,  
“be tranquil; rely on your means of subsistence: in or-  
“der to direct their destination, and ascertain their extent,  
“the convention has passed this precautionary decree.  
“The harvest is about to commence; your fields are co-  
“vered with abundance. Turn your eyes towards the  
“country where your brothers fight against tyrants, and  
“swear that these brave soldiers, their parents and their  
“children, whom ye have amongst you, shall not want  
“the means of subsistence. Hasten, amidst the labours of  
“the harvest, to prepare this subsistence, that it may speedi-  
“ly be sent to the armies, to those markets where any  
“scarcity is felt, and to the soldiers who are in want. Let  
“each of you be an intrepid superintendant, and a faithful  
“executor of the law. Have always the republic in your  
“heart; on your patriotism it reposes its most tender soli-  
“citudes.”

Towards the beginning of this month, an express ar-  
rived at St. Christopher's, from Guadaloupe, with in-  
telligence that several sail of French line of battle ships,  
with frigates, transports, and 2000 land forces on board,  
had appeared off Point a Petre, Grande Terre. Though  
the English fleet made immediate sail for Guadaloupe,  
yet, before their arrival, the enemy were in possession of  
Fort Fleur d'Epee, Fort Louis, Fort Government, and  
the town of Point a Petre; whilst the ships were an-  
chored in the harbour,

"On the morning of the 5th," says lieutenant-colonel Drummond, "the enemy landed thirteen boats crowded with sailors; and from the information of a prisoner brought into the fort, I learnt it was their intention to attack us that night, and that their numbers amounted to from twelve to fifteen hundred men. As I saw, from the conduct of the royalists on the preceding night, that I had very little to hope from their steadiness and resolution, I took the precaution to defend the gate, and line the weakest part of the work with the soldiers of the 43d regiment, keeping a small body as a corps de reserve, to act on the approach of the enemy. At eleven o'clock a party of horse, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, returned, and informed me the enemy were on their march, and in the possession of the village of Gozier. At one o'clock on Friday morning the advanced picquet came into the fort, and we then distinctly heard the approach of the enemy along the road leading from the village. We instantly commenced a fire of grape shot from one 24 pounder and two field-pieces, which threw them into great confusion, and must have been attended with considerable effect. The enemy halted for two or three minutes, and then, at the persuasion of the officers, marched on to the foot of the hill, and began to storm the work. We kept up a very heavy fire of musquetry for about fifteen minutes. The enemy were evidently repulsed, and I am persuaded, that had the royalists acted with resolution at the moment, we might have maintained our ground; but, when the firing ceased, numbers of them concluded that the place was lost, and, abandoning their posts, ran in crowds towards the gate. It was in vain for the soldiers of the 43d regiment to oppose their progress; the gates were laid open, and nearly one half of the whole body deserted to the town. The gates were again closed as soon as possible; and the small body of the 43d regiment, which I had kept in reserve, moved on to the attack. They opposed the entrance of the enemy for some time; but one side of the work having been abandoned and left entirely defenceless, we found ourselves nearly surrounded, and I then ordered the soldiers I had with me to charge their bayonets, and retire a few paces, to a spot where we might be better able to defend ourselves. Here

" we

“ we halted, and received a volley of musquetry from a  
“ number of the enemy that had formed themselves in a  
“ body in our front.

“ The crowd of people which now came rushing from  
“ every quarter towards the gate, rendered every effort of  
“ the soldiers ineffectual. Overpowered as they were,  
“ they found themselves dispersed, and obliged to retire. I  
“ consulted with two or three officers who continued at my  
“ side, upon the possibility of rallying once more, and still  
“ defending the place; but it was their general opinion,  
“ that the fort was no longer tenable, and that we ought to  
“ retire. I therefore permitted the gate to be opened, and or-  
“ dered a retreat to Fort Louis. On my arrival at Fort  
“ Louis, I assembled the soldiers, with a resolution to de-  
“ fend the post; but finding that I had not quite forty men,  
“ and that it would be impossible to hold out against the ene-  
“ my, I thought it more prudent to retire, and save the remains  
“ of the regiment, than to surrender them prisoners of war.  
“ I consequently ordered the men to march; and collecting  
“ the detachment at Fort Government, with the soldiers that  
“ had escaped singly from Fleur d’Epee, I proceeded to  
“ Petit Canal, and, having embarked in two boats, set sail  
“ for Basse Terre. It is not in my power to determine the  
“ number of our killed and wounded; neither can I form  
“ any opinion of the loss sustained by the royalists at Fleur  
“ d’Epee; but I am apprehensive it must have been very  
“ considerable.”

About the middle of the month, the supreme national  
council issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants  
of Great Poland: “The court of Berlin having now thrown  
“ off the mask as if no longer ashamed to act publicly con-  
“ trary to all principles of justice or right, having by an  
“ edict issued from the court, had the audacity to preach  
“ up to you, and impose upon you fictitious, vague, and false  
“ obligations; the supreme national council, therefore, think  
“ it necessary on their part, to recal to your minds, your real,  
“ sacred, and irrevocable duties, which you in common  
“ owe to your country. It will hardly be necessary to ob-  
“ serve to you, that the cause of the present war, and the  
“ source of all the misfortunes nearly related to it, did not  
“ originate with the Polish nation, but in the insatiable de-  
“ sire of Prussia for aggrandizing its power, which has become  
“ the distinguishing characteristic of the cabinet of Berlin.  
“ The conduct of our brave brethren, in flocking to the  
“ standard of their country, not invading foreign territories,  
“ violating no foreign property, but coming forward in the  
“ heart

heart of their native country, which has been violently  
 usurped by Frederic William, requires neither justifica-  
 tion nor apology. Would it be necessary to prove that  
 there is no civil war amongst us? Need we convince the  
 world that we know of no other enemy, than those vio-  
 lent plunderers, who, without any pretext or claim, nay,  
 contrary to all treaties and conventions, dismember our  
 country, violate our liberties, destroy and lay waste our  
 habitations and corn-fields. No more does the calumny,  
*that the better part of the nation groans under the misfortune*  
*of the insurrection*, need any answer; since the whole na-  
 tion has risen in arms against its oppressors, and Frederic  
 William undoubtedly is not the most competent judge to  
 decide which is the better part of the nation, or of its go-  
 vernment. He who considers only those to be the better  
 part of the nation, who were the leaders of the rebellion  
 of Targowitecz, and who were mean and corrupt enough  
 to sign and ratify his usurpations at the assembly of Grod-  
 no,—has he a right to judge of the constitutional govern-  
 ment of Poland, who wishes the same government to be  
 directed by the arbitrary commands of a Russian ambassa-  
 dor at Warsaw? Did not his language always change ac-  
 cording to the different circumstances, and according to his  
 private interests? In his declaration of October the 12th,  
 1788; and in his dispatches of May the 17th, 1791, he  
 lavished praises upon the authors of the constitution of the  
 3d of May, calling them true patriots and good citizens;  
 but soon after in his declaration of January the 16th,  
 1793, the same worthy men are stigmatized with the vile  
 appellation of intriguing Poles. This duplicity of conduct  
 will be a sufficient argument to exclude Frederic William  
 from the capacity of judging which is the better part of  
 the Polish nation.

Honorable fellow citizens, and brethren, Frederic  
 William speaks to you, as if you were his subjects. He  
 says, that to your happiness and tranquillity he has sacri-  
 ficed his own; but *what patriotic, what true Pole, asked him*  
*for that protection? What right had he to that considerable*  
*part of Poland, which was ours by the most sacred and most an-*  
*cient of birth-rights, a part which he afterwards baptized*  
*with the name of South Prussia?* Without even taking the  
 trouble of publishing a manifesto of appearances of pre-  
 tensions he marched an army into the states of the repub-  
 lic, and soon after a declaration of the 19th of April,  
 1793, appeared, in which he said, that he was taking  
 possession of the Polish provinces, for the purpose of  
 protecting them against Jacobinism. But, fellow-citizens,

“at this moment, however, you see, that instead of finding  
“you Jacobins, he, on the contrary, says, that you eagerly, and  
“voluntarily have submitted to his usurped government.

“It would indeed appear degrading on our part,  
“who are convinced of the justice of our cause, to  
“offer even the slightest answer to the calumnious  
“declarations of the cabinet of Berlin, in which every  
“Pole, who loves his country, is called a Jacobin. This,  
“our proclamation, fellow-citizens and brethren, is on-  
“ly addressed to you. Your own feelings will always  
“teach you what you owe to your country. You well  
“know, that the object of the present war is no other  
“than to render us all free. We have risen in arms in  
“order to, re-conquer the provinces which have been  
“wrenched from us by violent and unjust means, to lay  
“a solid foundation for the independence of our nation,  
“and to bring us all back to the happy lap of liberty.  
“Rise, therefore, and join your own energy to ours ;  
“union alone will make us obtain the object of our  
“wishes. In consequence of this, the supreme national  
“council thinks it further necessary to prescribe to you  
“a few rules by which you are to regulate your conduct.  
“The council declares the act of Prussia, of having  
“taken possession of our territories, an act of violent  
“usurpation. It annihilates the resolutions taken by  
“the late treasonous assembly of Grodno, considers the  
“woyvodrecks and districts of the province of great Po-  
“land, as inseparable parts of the republic, and its inha-  
“bitants as Poles and fellow citizens. The council fur-  
“ther declares, that as inhabitants of Poland, you are  
“obliged to acknowledge no other government than  
“that of Poland, and that you owe no obedience to the  
“command of Prussia. The council, therefore, orders  
“especially all the inhabitants, under pain of confiscation  
“of their property, not to quit the places of their resi-  
“dence, and to fulfil the duties prescribed to them by  
“the republic, their mother country ; and declares those  
“who preach up obedience to an oppressing and usurping  
“power, traitors to their country.”

Some time prior to this, General Paoli thus addressed  
the Corsicans. “Most dearly beloved countrymen, the  
“unabated confidence with which you have honoured  
“me, and the solicitude I have ever had to promote  
“your interests, and to secure your liberty, prescribe to  
“me the obligation of stating to you the present situa-  
“tion of public affairs. Roused by the endless succe-

“sion

“ sion of destruction and ruin, which characterises the  
 “ the conduct of those persons who exercise the powers  
 “ of government in France, and by the destruction of  
 “ all religion, and of every form of worship, enforced  
 “ and proclaimed among the people with unexampled  
 “ impiety, every Corsican must feel the necessity of sepa-  
 “ rating from the French, and of guarding against the  
 “ poisonous influence of their errors. The acts of hostility  
 “ committed by the French and those Corsican trait-  
 “ tors, who had taken refuge in the garrisons of Calvi,  
 “ St. Fiorenzo, and Bastia, compelled us to repel them  
 “ by force of arms. I have seen with infinite satisfaction,  
 “ during the course of a whole year, that of your ancient  
 “ bravery and attachment to your country were not  
 “ in the least diminished. In various encounters the  
 “ enemy have been defeated, although numerous, and sup-  
 “ ported by artillery. You have treated the prisoners  
 “ taken in the heat of battle, with generosity, whilst the  
 “ enemy have in cold blood, massacred our prisoners,  
 “ who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.  
 “ In all these agitations we have kept ourselves united  
 “ and exempt from the horrors of licentiousness and  
 “ anarchy; a happy presage of your future fate, and an  
 “ irrefragable proof, that you are, deserving of true li-  
 “ berty, and that you will know how to preserve it un-  
 “ sullied by licentiousness and dissensions. In such a state  
 “ of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheless,  
 “ apprehend that the enemy would encrease in force, and  
 “ attempt to carry into execution the destructive plans  
 “ they had formed, against you: under these circumstan-  
 “ ces, I felt the necessity of foreign assistance, and, in  
 “ conformity to your general wishes, and to the public  
 “ opinion, and universal expectation, I had recourse to  
 “ the king, and to the generous and powerful nation,  
 “ which had, on other occasions, protected the remains  
 “ of our liberty: a measure dictated by the public safety,  
 “ and which I took only when every conciliatory offer  
 “ had been obstinately rejected, and every hope of ob-  
 “ taining moderation or justice from the French conven-  
 “ tion was extinct.”

“ His Britannic majesty’s arms have made their ap-  
 “ pearance in your support: his ships and troops are em-  
 “ ployed with you to drive from our country the com-  
 “ mon enemy, and the blood of Britons and Corsicans  
 “ is conjointly shed for the liberty of this island. Our  
 “ enter-



“ enterprize has already been crowned with happy  
“ events, and draws near to a happy completion. This  
“ pleasing aspect of affairs has determined me to turn  
“ my thoughts to the most efficacious means of establish-  
“ ing a permanent freedom, and of securing our island  
“ from various events, which, till this moment, have  
“ kept us in agitation, the protection of the king of  
“ Great Britain, and a political union with the British  
“ nation, of which the prosperity and power, uninter-  
“ rupted for ages, are to the universe proofs of the ex-  
“ cellency of its government, have appeared to me to ac-  
“ cord with the happiness and safety of Corsica. The  
“ universal opinion on this head, evinced by the unre-  
“ served inclination you have already shown, and  
“ strengthened by your gratitude for benefits received,  
“ appear fortunately to concur with mine. I have there-  
“ fore made the proper overtures to his majesty the king  
“ of Great Britain, with a view to establish this desi-  
“ rable union. With a satisfaction never to be erased  
“ from my mind, I now behold our wishes anticipated,  
“ and our hopes realized: the memorial which has been  
“ transmitted to me by their excellencies the admiral com-  
“ manding the fleet, and minister plenipotentiary of his  
“ majesty, affords us the opportunity of establishing this  
“ union in the manner best adapted to the benefit of both  
“ nations, and to the honour of his majesty. I cannot  
“ better make known to you their excellencies senti-  
“ ments, than by a faithful translation of their memorial.  
“ The nature of the present address, does not permit  
“ me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which  
“ tends to conciliate the most extensive political and ci-  
“ vil liberty, with personal security. You are convinc-  
“ ed of these truths, and will regulate your conduct ac-  
“ cordingly. I nevertheless avail myself of this oppor-  
“ tunity to declare, that in taking the English constitu-  
“ tion for your model, you will proceed upon the most  
“ solid principles that philosophy, policy, and experi-  
“ ence, have ever been known to combine for the hap-  
“ piness of a great people, reserving to yourselves the  
“ power of adapting them to your own peculiar situa-  
“ tion, customs, and religion, without being exposed  
“ hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambi-  
“ tion of a powerful usurper. A matter of such import-  
“ ance ought, nevertheless, to be discussed and agreed to  
“ by you, in a general assembly, at which I entreat  
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“ you to assist by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of  
 “ the ensuing month of June, in the city of Corté.  
 “ The provisional government will then suggest to you  
 “ the form and mode of the elections. With respect to my-  
 “ self, and my dearly beloved countrymen, after having  
 “ devoted every moment of my life to your happiness,  
 “ I shall esteem myself the happiest of mankind, if,  
 “ through the means I have derived from your confi-  
 “ dence, I can obtain for our country, the opportunity  
 “ of forming a free and lasting government, and of pre-  
 “ serving to Corsica its name, its unity, and its independ-  
 “ ence, whilst the names of the heroes who have spilt  
 “ their blood in its support and defence, will be, for fu-  
 “ ture generations, objects of noble emulation and grate-  
 “ ful remembrance.”

The general assembly of the Corsicans having prescribed the form of government they chose to adopt, and the principles on which it was to be established, and all the members having individually signed the constitutional act, it was proposed to present it to his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot, in his Britannic majesty's name. The assembly having adopted this proposition, decreed, “ that  
 “ the said proposition shall be made by a deputation of  
 “ twelve members, who were chosen and commissioned  
 “ for this purpose.” After which the deputation having executed the commission assigned to them, re-entered the hall, together with sir Gilbert Elliot. The members of the assembly stood up, during which he approached the president, and pronounced the following acceptance : “ I, the undersigned baronet, member of the  
 “ parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy  
 “ council, and commissary plenipotentiary of his Bri-  
 “ tannic majesty, having full power, and being specially  
 “ authorised for this purpose, do accept in name of  
 “ his majesty George the Third, king of Great Bri-  
 “ tain, the crown and sovereignty of Corsica, according  
 “ to the constitution and fundamental laws, contained in  
 “ the act of a general assembly, held at Corté, and de-  
 “ finitively settled this same day, the 19th of June, and  
 “ as such offered to his majesty ; and, in his majesty's  
 “ name I swear to maintain the liberty of the Corsican  
 “ nation, according to the constitution, and to the laws.  
 “ GILBERT ELLIOT.”

This acceptance and oath being read, Sir Gilbert Elliot proposed to the president and to the assembly the constitutional oath, and this was taken in the following words :

words: " I swear for myself, and in the name of the  
" Corsican nation, which I represent, to acknowledge  
" for my sovereign and king, his majesty George the  
" Third, the king of Great Britain, to yield him faithful  
" obedience; according to the constitution and the laws of  
" Corsica; and to maintain the said constitution and  
" laws."

Sir Gilbert Elliot then rose, and made the following  
speech: " Gentlemen, in availing myself, for the first  
" time, in the midst of the Corsican nation, of the pri-  
" vilege of calling you brothers and fellow-citizens, a re-  
" flection which will naturally occur to every one, ex-  
" cites in me the most heart-felt satisfaction, independ-  
" ent of the reciprocal political advantages which we  
" may derive from so close a connection; I see, on the  
" present occasion, every thing that can render it more  
" precious and more estimable by the sentiments of con-  
" fidence and of affection, the first and pure principles  
" of our union, which they will forever continue to cement  
" and consolidate. This remarkable truth, which it is  
" impossible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without  
" a strong emotion of sensibility and joy. Our two na-  
" tions have, for a long period, been distinguished by a  
" reciprocal and remarkable esteem. Without antici-  
" pating the happy end to which this instinctive partial-  
" lity, this sympathetic attraction, may some day lead  
" us, we have given to each other instances of confidence  
" on every occasion, yet no relation has subsisted be-  
" tween us, except those of reciprocal and voluntary  
" good offices. Our minds have been prepared by pro-  
" vidence for the fate which awaited us, and the divine  
" goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it  
" should be anticipated and brought about (if I may so  
" express myself) by a similarity of character, and by a  
" conformity of views and principle, and, above all, by  
" a pleasing exchange of friendly services. This sacred  
" compact, which I received from your hands, is not a  
" cold and interested agreement between two parties  
" who meet by accident, and form a contract founded  
" on the impulse of the moment, or on a selfish and tem-  
" porary policy. No, the event of this happy day, is  
" only the completion of wishes we previously formed;  
" to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long  
" been united. However seducing this prospect of our  
" happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for

*Sir Gilbert Elliot's Speech.*

“ us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but that it rests on the solid basis of the true interests, and permanent felicity of the two nations..

“ I will not mention the interests of Great Britain on this occasion; not that they are of little consequence, but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day; besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity. On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words,—*Liberty at home, and Security abroad.*

“ Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch, who, by his own experience, and the example of his ancestors, for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people, is the only foundation of the power, the glory, and the splendor of the throne:—A king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose sceptre is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. I here might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own; but they are known to all his subjects; you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience, and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice. It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have, therefore, been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution, and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to  
“ the

“ the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those  
“ who endure it.

“ If his majesty therefore accepts the crown which you  
“ have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to  
“ protect, and never to enslave those from whom he re-  
“ ceives it; and, above all, because it is given, and not  
“ seized upon by violence. For external security, you  
“ wanted nothing but the constant and active alliance of  
“ a maritime power; this act ensures it to you; and  
“ whilst you enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which  
“ the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you  
“ will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sove-  
“ reignty of the seas. From this day, therefore, you  
“ are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you  
“ have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage,  
“ and the sacred love of your country. These are the  
“ native virtues of your soil; they will be enriched  
“ by those which accompany our union, and which you  
“ will derive from our industry, from our long experi-  
“ ence (that true source of political wisdom) and from  
“ our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlighten-  
“ ed. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to  
“ maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the  
“ people; not to serve ambition and vice: that liberty,  
“ which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for  
“ the laws, and a sacred regard for property, the first  
“ principles of every human society; that liberty, which  
“ abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that  
“ most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the  
“ unrestrained violence of the human passions.

“ Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to  
“ us; on their happy mixture and influence on each  
“ other depends the prosperity of Corsica; immediate  
“ liberty, and a progressive and encreasing prosperity.  
“ Such is the text; to which I hope and venture to pre-  
“ dict, that our behaviour to each other, and our  
“ common destinies will always prove a faithful and sa-  
“ tisfactory illustration.”

## C H A P. XXV.

*State of Europe at this Period.*

PHILOSOPHERS predicted that the progress of reason would finally banish war from the face of the earth; and they expressed the fortification, that nevermore would war be attended with such barbarities as had disgraced former periods. The amiable Doctor Price and other men of speculation, made no scruple to affirm that the *Millennium* was just on the eve of commencement, if, indeed, it had not already commenced. Never was there so bloody a war as the present. In ancient times, and in the middle age, a few battles, and sometimes one, decided the contest. In later periods, when the operations of the war, by the progress of wealth and of knowledge, became more complicated, the leaders of opposite armies avoided action when they could not fight with advantage, protracted the war by various stratagems, and throughout the whole, mixed, and, in some measure, dignified hostilities by that gallantry which was considered as the greatest glory of a soldier. In the character of the present war all this is reversed. The Netherlands, since the very impolitic dismantlements of the emperor Joseph, are unprovided with strong places, either by nature or art. Hence the operations of the war, in this quarter, consist chiefly, nay almost entirely, in battles; not as in countries strong by nature, or defended by works of art, which leave room for contrivance, and consequently delay. The Sambre, easily crossed, and recrossed, is tinged almost daily with the blood of the slain.

The plan of the present campaign, laid down, as it is said, by that accomplished officer, the Austrian Colonel Mack, was, to divide the confederate force into three parts: with one to besiege Maubeuge, with another Lisle; and with a third to push on to Paris. The necessity of defending Flanders completely subverted this plan of operation; so that the Allies were at a loss how to act. While the French even maintain their ground, they

\* It was in allusion to this that the Doctor, in one of the last discourses, if not the last that he preached, said, "Lord, now leavest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

clearly gain advantage. For, while the seeds of disunion grow up among the allies \*, the very lapse of time confirms the authority of the French government.

It may, perhaps, be assumed as a maxim in politics, that there are some empires so powerful as not to be subverted by any combination against them. If it were possible, indeed, to unite against one, all other governments on the face of the earth, and to give a firm, steady, and constant direction to their combined force, it would be altogether irresistible. But we are to take into our estimate the inconstancy of confederacies, which contain in their nature a principle of dissolution. Mutual jealousies arise from diversities of interests; different objects are pursued; the movements of the allies become not only desultory, but one movement counteracts another. Disgust succeeds, and despair of success; while the disgrace of disappointment and defeat is divided, and, in some measure, evaded, by mutual complaint and recrimination. Dumourier, than whom (whatever may be thought of his moral character and political sincerity) there never was a better judge of human affairs, declares it as his opinion, that if any one of the great powers now confederated against the French republic had cordially and opportunely succoured the royal cause alone, and without dependence on any other, the affair would long since have been determined†. Taking into account, therefore, the advantages of a compact, through extensive dominion, defended by natural and artificial barriers, and peopled by a numerous and warlike nation, generally united, and ardent in the common cause, on the one hand; and the difficulty and delay of transporting troops and stores from great distances, with the natural inconstancy of confederacies on the other;—we may conclude that there are nations conquerable, and nations unconquerable. All Europe found it impossible to conquer the Saracens, and regain the Holy Land, for any considerable time. It is questionable, at this period, whether the project of subduing the French, be not equally hopeless. At the commencement of hostilities,

\* Not to specify all the causes of disunion, we may observe, in general, that among the confederates some are military, and think it their interest to indulge in feudal ambition, and that others are commercial. A similar distinction takes place among individuals of the same nation.

† Dumourier's Memoirs.

indeed, it was not unreasonable to suppose, that a large majority of men of property, and the most respectable persons in France, were ready to join the royal standard; and so they probably would, could that standard have been advanced by the allies into the interior of the country, and at the same time been accompanied by a manifesto favourable to the happiness of the people.

But whatever the issue of this contest is, or likely to be, war, on the part of Great Britain, was unavoidable. The French, on their side, contended, that our constitution by trains of political emissaries, set fire to by political emissaries. They also opened war against us, they burst the barrier, and opened our allies. The French again, in opposition to all this contend, that we refused to listen to earnest overtures for peace, proposed by the war minister Le Brun, and conveyed by Chauvelin and Maret, who after the death of Louis, were haughtily dismissed from London; and they add, that the English violated the treaty of commerce. The truth is, both parties were the aggressors. It would not be easy to determine who first shewed symptoms of hostility. Hostile preparation was necessary on both sides. But why did not Britain, with arms in her hands, attempt to secure the independence of Holland and the Netherlands by negotiation? For this there was a fit crisis when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march to Paris.—But with whom were we to negotiate? With those who at the moment had the power to make war. The mind and heart of man, it is true, revolted against negotiation with such sanguinary characters; yet, notwithstanding this natural abhorrence, negotiation might have been political wisdom. Vice and horror are permitted in this probationary state, by Divine Providence. It is within the circle of their own dominion alone, that it is the duty of kings and rulers of all kinds to act. The formation of governments, and the control of all the different governments upon earth, is the work of God. And this is a doctrine that ought not to be controverted even by those, who maintain royal rights to be hereditary and indefeasible. The powers that be are ordained of God; but the powers thus ordained are not indefinite. Who without horror can think of the inhumanities practised every day by the Deys of Barbary, the Beys of Egypt, the Princes of Africa, and the Chiefs that



that now distract Persia? Yet, who thinks of reforming those wretches by fire and sword?

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Italy, having no steady government, was wasted by bands of robbers. It was particularly ravaged by a military leader of the name of Warner, who wore on a tunic embroidered with silver, words defying the Deity, and inspiring horror\*. The English, like general Warner, are enemies of God, of religion, and of humanity: they seem, indeed, fairly to have thrown down the gauntlet to the Almighty. Attacked in the temporary triumphs of this creature, the philosophy looks to the natural issue of the contest, and found theology to the judicial. Though hand should join in hand, yet shall not vice pass unpunished.

The sovereign of Prussia was the first to take alarm at French principles, and the first to secede from the war. The war was commenced, on his part, under a persuasion, that the conquest of France might be accomplished, without difficulty. All those princes, nobles, priests, and others, who fled from France, as well previous, as subsequent to the abolition of royalty, gave the most solemn assurances to the king of Prussia, that upon the appearance of a Prussian army on the frontiers of France, all the French towns would open their gates to them; and, that all the inhabitants would instantly join the Prussians against the insurgents of France.

There is nothing which an impartial person should more guard against than the representations of political fugitives. It was by these, that England was duped and deceived, in the beginning, and during the progress of the American war. England found, when it was too late, that she had no friends in America. And every day's experience seems to convince us, that royalty has not so many friends in France, as might at first have been reasonably presumed. After the experience of two campaigns, the king of Prussia found that he had been deceived by the French emigrants; and therefore, at the end of last campaign, he withdrew from the confederacy with 600,000*l.* that Great Britain had remitted for the service of the war. He had the justice, however, to carry it to an old account of thirty years standing between Frederic the Great and George II. of England.

\* English Review, for July 1794.

He saw that his interest was engaged more in the affairs of Poland, than in those of France. From Poland he had obtained a considerable territory with the revenues of the cities of Thorn and Dantzic, and therefore he had a capital interest in preserving to himself these important advantages. Having discovered that in the French war he had been most egregiously duped, and had expended large sums of money, he looked out for an indemnification. From the emperor he could expect no assistance of a pecuniary nature, because the emperor knew was too much distressed to afford it. The amiable king of Holland it was no less impracticable to obtain from, and Sardinia it was totally impossible. The court of England alone furnished him with the hope of obtaining any thing. The moment he threatened to abandon the alliance against France, that is the moment he distinctly saw this alliance, and real war in consequence of it could yield him no solid advantage whatever, he gave notice of his intended secession. This breach of faith alarmed the court of England so exceedingly, that a negotiation was immediately entered into, in order to induce him to continue the war against France. Notwithstanding the terms of the treaty are highly advantageous to him, he does not appear to be hearty in the cause. He is more attentive to the affairs of Poland, than to the affairs of France, because he has a more immediate, and, as he conceives a more permanent, interest in them.

The Austrians, perhaps, have trusted too much to the Prussians, and the Prussians to the Austrians, and both to Great Britain. As soon as the king of Prussia had concluded the treaty of subsidy he was to receive from Great Britain, he went to Poland. And as soon as the emperor had obtained permission to negotiate a loan in London, he left his army in the Netherlands, and returned to Vienna. The union of the houses of Brandenburg and Austria, seems not only unnatural but unprincipled. It is not the interest of either, to permit the other to increase her wealth and strength; therefore we may say, that this is an union which can never last. Austria is naturally jealous of Prussia. And the present king of Prussia has shewn, that he has as much ambition to increase his dominions, as the late king had: consequently, Austria will find it necessary to keep a watchful eye over him, lest he should become too powerful.

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The emperor is said to have already discovered some symptoms of a jealousy of this kind.

Of all the electors of the German-empire, the elector of Hanover seems to have been the most forward in taking up the royal cause against France, with zeal and consistency. He indeed seems to have spared no pains, nor expence, nor applications, to increase the number and vigour of the enemies against the governors of that kingdom. Of the rest of the empire it is not necessary to say any thing. The electors of Brandenburg and Bohemia are included under the titles of Prussia and Austria. And as to the others they seem to be very lukewarm in the business. Perhaps it is not clear to them, that they have any interest in the government of France.

The Stadtholder of Holland is accused by some of sacrificing the interests of the republic to his own views, or rather the views of other powers with whom his family is connected; whilst others contend that his power is not sufficient to execute all the good purposes he wishes to obtain. The former were friends to the revolution of America, and are now to that of France. The latter are the contrary. Thus the constitution of this republic now preponderates between two parties, and ultimately depends upon one alone. The inhabitants of the United Provinces have been engaged in the war, more by the politics and influence of the courts of London and Berlin, than by the conviction of any interest or advantage being to be obtained by the measure. One party sees nothing but a waste of blood and treasure. The other party sees the danger of the House of Orange, if French principles prevail. The first are not convinced of the state necessity of dictating to France, the kind and form of government which shall be established in that country. The latter, being devoted to the commands of the two royal courts in alliance with the Stadtholder, are anxious to preserve the power of the Stadtholder. This division has undoubtedly been the cause, that such small exertions have been made by the Dutch in support of the war.

The empress of Russia, although a member of the league of sovereigns formed against France, has not hitherto sent a regiment or a ship to that service. Catherine has been solely occupied in seizing upon a large part of Poland, and is now wholly attentive upon maintaining that seizure. For this, the occupation of the other sovereigns in the  
French

French war, furnishes her with an opportunity; otherwise it would never be believed that all Europe could be indifferent to the aggrandisement of a power, already sufficiently dangerous and alarming to the independence of them all. The Empress doubtless feels the necessity of co-operation from Prussia and Austria on the side of Poland. To make sure of her spoil, there is her first object. And the pretext of forming a stronger barrier against the French in the Scheldt and the Rhine, than could be opposed to them on the frontiers of France, or French Flanders, is certainly not unpalatable. Perhaps too, she has it farther in view, by the cession of the Low Countries to France, to raise up so extensive, yet compact an empire in the west of Europe, as shall overawe all its neighbours, particularly the British; while she does what she pleases in the East. Austria, too, and Prussia, nearer to France than Russia, would be more affected and constrained by its preponderating greatness. That the French empire should be bounded only by the Rhine on the east, as by the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees on other sides, according to the ambitious policy instilled into Lewis XIV. by Cardinal Mazarine, may suit the views of the Empress, though she would, no doubt, be alarmed, should they pass the Rhine, and advance farther eastward.

"The Regent of Sweden has preserved a strict neutrality, and as it would appear, is resolved to do so. I will not," says he, "betray a minor king into measures, which will infallibly reduce the finances, and diminish the strength of his finances. I hold the country in trust, and I will discharge my duty with fidelity." The prince of Denmark, who, during the life of his father, may be said to be regent, in imitation of the regent of Sweden, has declined engaging in a war, which even if successful, could not yield any advantage to Denmark; but, on the contrary, might possibly increase the insolence of some insolent neighbour\*. These two neutral powers are at present united; which is their best and truest interest. The court of Petersburg is hostile to this union, because she sees in it the probability of a check to her ambitious views. They have indeed just cause to become alarmed by her gigantic strides of military prowess, and increase of power. If the other

states of Europe could see any thing besides the condition of France, they must, like Sweden and Denmark, feel as deep an interest in the conduct and politics of Peterburgh, as in those of Paris.

Notwithstanding the immense riches of the Spanish monarch, his power in Europe is but weak ; and though he joined heartily in the confederacy against France, he has been of very little service to the royal cause. The French have penetrated through the Pyrenees in several places, and Spain lies open to their incursions. Thus, so far from the king of Spain's affording any assistance to the confederacy, he will be fully employed in taking care of himself.—The king of Sardinia, though subsidized by England, has made a very poor figure in the war. He seems either to have no inclination, or to be incapable of making any exertions. Part of his dominions have for some time been defended by Austrian troops ; and more than one conspiracy against him has already been discovered at Turin.

Poland is still slated to be the scene of war, without one single ally to compassionate her expiring liberties, or perhaps her existence. The potentates of the west and south of Europe, are so deeply engaged in the crusade against France, that they totally disregard the equilibrium of power, which was once thought so essential, that rivers of blood have flowed to maintain it ; and Poland may be seized with impunity, and divided at pleasure, by the Prussians and Russians. The Poles are endeavouring to prevent this ; but the armies of their enemies are so numerous, that ultimate success is scarcely to be expected. There seems to be a probability that the Emperor will not be an indifferent spectator of this war ; but whether he means to seize upon the remainder of Poland, Prussia and Russia have not taken ; or whether he will assist the Poles against those powers, time has not yet sufficiently developed. If ever there was a people worthy of liberty, it is the poles ; if ever a prince fitted to take the lead in establishing a government “ regularly free \*,” it is the present king of Poland. It is doubtless unfortunate for the cause of sovereigns, that the same powers which are hostile to France, are also hostile to Poland. It is confidently asserted that emissaries, certain Italians, have been sent from the court of Berlin, to form Jacobin clubs in Poland, that the proceedings of those fanatics, might

\* Thomson's Seasons.

furnish pretexts for the introduction of new armies, and for farther oppressions. The same arts from the same quarter, were practised, it has been said, in Holland.

What the Turkish ambassador is now doing in London, has often been matter of conjecture. Has the court of Constantinople, political invention and intrigue enough to attempt the excitement of a league of the Persians, Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Britons, against the power and artifices of the Czarina? Of such a confederation, in the opinion of many, she would not be an unnatural object. The Turkish empire might make ample compensation to Great Britain for her protection by sea, against the Russians, without injury, nay, with advantage to herself. The possession of the island of Candia or Cyprus by the English, a passage over land, and a fortress or two at the Isthmus of Suez, all of them forming, together, a chain of communication between Britain and her Asiatic settlements, would redound equally to the security and to the advantage of both the Turkish and the British empires. There was a juncture when Great Britain might have effectually protected and gained the friendship of both the Poles and the Turks. But a Russian war, it was foreseen, or rather felt, would be unpopular. The ultimate object of the great military force, which the Empress of Russia is raising, as politicians generally suppose, is the reduction of Constantinople. The present conjuncture of affairs, encourages this enterprize: To the French Catharine may say, "If ye stir in behalf of the Turks, I will join the confederates:" to the confederates, "If ye move I will join the French." Thus she holds the balance of power; and having contributed by her fair promises to embroil the west of Europe, she does in the east what she pleases.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Embassy to China—Evacuation of Ostend—The Duke of York's army march to Gramont—Oudenarde and Mons taken by the French—Earl of Moira's army—Tournay and Ghent evacuated—Engagement at Waterloo—Sluys summoned by the French—British army—New regulations proposed by Barrere—Successes of the French announced.*

**D**URING the month of June, the following intelligence was received respecting the Chinese embassy.

After passing the banks of Sunda, they made some unsuccessful attempts to explore the islands of Banka, and the straits of Malacca. They stopped at Pulo Condore, and from thence proceeded to Turon Bay, in Cochin-China, where they found a young prince established upon the throne, after a civil war of twenty years continuance, which ended in a revolution; for such events it would appear, are not peculiar to the western world. A considerable number of missionaries had once been in Cochin-China, but they were all gone, having followed the fates of the royal line expelled by this revolution, and which still retained possession of a small corner of the kingdom. In their voyage they visited Macao and Chusan, the eastern-most extremity of China; and at last reached the mouth of the river Tienfin, in the bottom of Petcheli Gulph, on the 26th of July 1793, where they found the water so shallow, though they had no sight of land, that they cast anchor in six fathoms water. From hence they dispatched a brig to announce their arrival, to request that vessels might be sent to receive the presents intended for the emperor, as the English vessels could proceed no farther for want of water; and also to solicit a supply of fresh provisions. On the first of August, a number of small vessels arrived from the shore, having on board some principal mandarines, with a most magnificent supply of every kind of provisions. Twenty bullocks, upwards of one hundred sheep, as many hogs, a great number of fowls of various kinds, an immense quantity of the richest and finest fruits of the country; several chests of tea, sugar, china, &c. &c. and a large supply of flour, millet, bread, rice, and other articles in great profusion.

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The different presents being put on board the Chinese junks, Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney on the 5th, went in the Clarence Brig to Tacao, a few miles up the river, where the goods were obliged to be transferred to still smaller vessels; to convey them to Tong-Chu, about ten miles from Peking.

The embassy left Tacao, where every accommodation was afforded them, on the 8th of August, and arrived at Tientsin on the 11th, where they were splendidly entertained on shore amidst thousands of people. After the entertainment, they got a present of victuals in place of a dinner, sufficient to last the whole of them for a week. Each officer got, besides, two pieces of silk; and even the soldiers, mechanics, &c. had a piece of silk and cotton.

Tientsin is situated at the confluence of three large rivers, and is a place of large and extensive commerce. Its population is not to be counted by thousands but by millions. The burying ground only, an immense plain, extends farther than the eye can reach, and appears only bounded by the horizon.

They next went to Tong-chu, to which place they were conveyed by water, in vessels dragged by men. They reached it on the 16th. Here the presents and baggage were landed, and deposited in houses erected to receive them.

On the 21st, the ambassador and his suite set out for Peking. Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney, and Sir George Staunton, were conveyed in sedan chairs, the officers and other gentlemen, in two-wheeled carriages, and the rest in a kind of covered waggons. They reached Peking about nine o'clock that morning. The streets are not paved, The longest are about *six miles*, crossing each other at right angles, as in Philadelphia, from 90, to 130 feet in breadth. The houses are only one story high. The walls of the city are of an immense height, and the principal streets terminate at the gates, which are very magnificent. Sumptuous apartments were provided for the suite, and every necessary of life was furnished to them without purchase.

They remained here till the beginning of September, when Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney and suite set out for Gehol, the country residence of the Emperor. His Lordship went in an English coach, the other gentlemen on horseback, and the soldiers and others in waggons; so that with  
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the baggage train, the whole cavalcade was of very great length.

Gehol is about 130 English miles from Peking. They were a week in going thither. On the fourth day of their journey, they reached the famous wall which forms one of the barriers of this empire, their way lying through a gate called Canpe-Rieu. There are only four such passes in China. This wall was built upwards of 200 years before Christ, from which time, for 1400, or 1500 years, it served as a complete defence against every enemy; but at the end of that period, Gengis Khan invaded the empire, and got possession of the throne. It is about 26 feet high, and about 15 thick at the top, which is well paved, and has a parapet on each side: the base is about twenty feet thick. At every distance of about 90 or 100 yards, there is a tower upon it, above 15 feet each in height, and forty-five in length. In several places, there are other walls within the main one, which take in a sweep of several miles, and then connect again with it, so that should the outer one be forced, the inner remains as a defence; and these again are covered by other walls within them; but this is only at the four principal passes; the ground over which this immense fabric is carried, is in some places very rugged and uneven, more so than the most mountainous parts of Cumberland. This wall is more than 2000 miles in length, without allowing for the bendings over mountains and through valleys. The towers are about 45,000 in number.

When they reached Gehol, some misunderstanding respecting the mode of presentation, prevented the ceremony from taking place, till the 14th. Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney insisted, that the ceremonies required to be performed by him before the Emperor, should be performed by a Chinese of equal rank, before the picture of his majesty. One of the prime ministers, of whom there are five in China, styled Caidos, having committed some mistake in reporting that Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney had agreed to comply with ceremonies to which he had not assented, was degraded some steps in his rank, and forced to wear in his head-dress, a crow's tail instead of a peacock's, which it seems answers to our stars, garters, ribbands, and other insignia of nobility. Chinta-gin, one of these ministers, on finding what hindered the business from going on, very

shrewdly remarked, that he thought it strange that an ambassador, who had come such a great distance professedly to compliment the Emperor, should commence his business, by contending about formalities. It was at last, however, settled that his lordship should pay the same respect to the Emperor that he paid on approaching the king of England.

The suite were received in a large tent. The Emperor was carried thither in an open chair, borne by sixteen men; as he passed to the tent, the English kneeled on one knee: every one of the Chinese prostrated themselves on the ground. Being all arranged in, and round the tent, they had a sumptuous repast, which was followed by music, tumbling, wrestling, and other exercises. The Emperor paid great attention to Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney, and he and all the gentlemen had presents of silk purses, fans, &c. The entertainment being ended, the Emperor descended from the throne, and walked to his chair, and was carried away in the same manner in which he came. The crowd of mandarines, princes, and other people of rank, which attended this ceremony, was almost innumerable.

Next day the Emperor again saw Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney. He came in the same manner as on the preceding day. He told his lordship that he was going to a pagoda at some distance, but that he had given orders to his ministers to attend upon his lordship, and shew him the palaces and gardens. When the Emperor was gone, the suite were conveyed to an island, in an extensive sheet of water, where they found a large building, in almost every apartment of which there was a kind of throne, and also a number of curiosities of English manufacture. On the left of each throne, was a large agate, of a batten form, deposited there as an emblem of peace in the empire. From this they were conveyed by water, and afterwards shewn a number of other buildings, where they were entertained with fruits and sweatmeats.

On the 17th, which was the Emperor's birthday, they visited the palace before the morning dawn. They waited till day-light in a large apartment, after which Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney, and the high mandarines were admitted to an inner court; the officers of the suite were in the second court, and the mandarines of inferior rank, in

a third court, on the outside of the other two. The sight of flags, banners, and embroidered silk floating in the air, was grand, beyond the power of language to describe. The Emperor was not present. All the people kneeled, and *bowed nine times*, with as much solemnity as if they had been worshipping a deity. This ceremony over, they were conveyed through other parks and lodges, with gardens laid out in much the same manner as those in England. They were sumptuously entertained, in one of these buildings, and afterwards carried through some magnificent pagodas or temples: one of them was larger than the buildings of Somerset House, but higher, and in the same square form, open within the square, in the centre of which was a building of considerable height, covered with solid gold. The inside part of the square is in the form of galleries, one over the other, in four rows, most splendidly decorated, and supported with pillars of gold. In some of the apartments, hundreds of priests were employed in singing. The images of deities in these buildings, are almost innumerable, and many of them of gigantic size, larger than Gog and Magog in Guildhall. They are, however, of the same materials, wood, richly gilt and ornamented, and numbers of them symbolical representations. In many of the religious ceremonies there is a resemblance of the Jewish rites; others are similar to those of the Romanists.

On the 18th, they were admitted to the Emperor's theatre. It is a square, open at top. The stage extends along one side of the square, and those who are honoured with admission to see the performances are placed under piazzas, on the other three sides. In front of the stage, about fifty feet distant, is the throne from which the Emperor views the performance. The rest of the area is ornamented with beautiful flower-pots. Lord M. Cartney was led to the throne, and received from the Emperor's hand, a copy of verses made by himself, for his Britannic majesty, in a box of great value and antiquity, made of black wood, carved very neatly. The ambassador had also the honour to receive a copy of verses for himself. Here the suite was heartily tired for several hours with a performance one word of which they could not understand, and which was accompanied with a confused noise of gongs and bells; after which, as was usual every day, they received presents of silks, fans, and china.

The two next days were employed in preparations for

their return to Peking, where they arrived on the 26th. On their journey they were much surprised to find a very great number of men employed in levelling the road, for the accommodation of the Emperor, on his return from Gehol, which he was to quit in a few days, the whole road, a space of 150 miles, was covered with men, about 60 feet asunder, and a cistern of water for each man, for watering the road on the Emperor's approach, so that the number of men and of cisterns exceeded 13,000. The road for the Emperor, is as smooth and level, as any walk in the *gardens at Kew*; no person is allowed to ride or travel upon it, and it is guarded night and day.

On the 30th the embassy set out for the palace of Yen-Ming-Yuen, whither all the presents had been sent, that the Emperor might see them together. They rested that night at Hing-Min-Yuen, and set out next morning to a house about four miles distant, from whence they walked a little way and met the Emperor; who, learning from the principal mandarine, who attended the embassy, that Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney was indisposed, desired that his lordship might return to Peking, for the sake of better accommodation. They returned the same day, and indeed it would appear that the Chinese by this time wished their departure altogether; for Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney had an interview with the ministers the same day, in the course of which they recommended to him, "to take the benefit of the good weather for his departure, as he would not travel comfortably, if he allowed the winter to overtake him: the more especially as he was but poorly in health."

From this time none of the missionaries, of whom there was a number in the country, were allowed to go near our countrymen; and the attendant mandarines, under pretence of friendship, strongly urged them to propose departing, as a change of treatment might not be found quite pleasant. It should be remarked, that by this time all the presents had been delivered.

On the 3d of September, Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney presented to the ministers a number of proposals and requisitions, respecting the object of his mission. His lordship had intended staying till March; but it was now thought advisable to take the hint that had been given. On the 4th, he requested permission to depart: the Emperor's permission was with him by next morning, and the second day after was appointed for his departure. The  
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Chinese, however, were very considerate in one thing: the warning was short; they therefore gave them a great number of men to assist in packing up; and they were so industrious, that every thing was in complete readiness, by the time fixed. On the day of departure, the ambassador had an interview with the minister, and received an answer to the propositions he had made. *They were all refused*; and the embassy left Peking, very much mortified at their want of success; after which Lord M<sup>c</sup>Cartney and his suite returned to Canton, where they spent their Christmas.

The failure in this business cannot be easily accounted for. Perhaps the mandarines who attended the embassy, were not addressed in the feeling manner they expected. Pretty things for the Emperor, were only shows to them, and they might wish for something substantial for themselves. It is, however, supposed that the want of success, is chiefly to be attributed to some evil impression made upon the Chinese court, by some of the native princes of India, telling them to beware how they allowed the English to obtain a footing among them; and strengthening their admonition by *falsely* stating, that the same people had first as friends, obtained a small settlement in India, which they afterwards increased by repeated wars, driving many of the original owners from their dominions, and establishing upon their ruin an immense empire for themselves.

On the 29th of June, Colonel Vyse embarked the 8th, 33d, and 44th regiments, and the rest of the troops, artillery and stores, in order to evacuate Ostend. As the last detachment of the 33d regiment was embarking, the French entered the town. Three columns of infantry, with two pieces of cannon, came in at the west gate, and immediately began to fire at the British transports, which the frigates, gun-boats, and cutters returned. General Van Damme took possession of a house in the town, and, having collected the principal inhabitants who remained in it, desired them to choose their representatives. The people in other respects were allowed to remain unmolested.

The evacuation of Ostend occasioned great distress to many individuals, whilst the public loss was considerable. The Gatton East Indiaman ran aground in coming out, and unfortunately wind and tide were against getting her off. She had once been got off, but ground-

ed again : and there was no resource left, but setting fire to her, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. She was full of ordnance stores.

An attempt was made to inundate Ostend ; but it was frustrated from two causes : the first, because the tide rose not five feet, but only three in that part of the canal ; the second, because the engineers now perceived, that this side of Ostend, is a ground rising a little above the level of the marshes which surround it.

Barrere's report on the capture of Ostend, is as follows : " Citizens, the Committee of Public Welfare can hardly follow the rapid march of our triumphant armies. Victory has assumed the boldest flight of fame. Our gallant troops, with whom triumphs are permanent, have increased the maritime force of the republic. Whilst the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse were reconquering the department of Jemappe, the left wing of the northern army took a great port. Ostend is in the possession of the French. The port, the greatest part of the shipping, the artillery, ammunition, and magazines, are in the hands of the republicans. The French armies can scarcely overtake the *Imperial eagle in his flight* ; and all Belgium has neither extent nor strong holds enough to protect, or rather to hide the retreat of the allies. Citizens, you know that Ostend is no common conquest ; it is a strong place, and a famous port ; it is an important point, which cements the sea with the land, increases the resources of our navy, and strengthens the defence of the continent. Ostend is the covered way through which the English conveyed their poisons into France, their men and horses to the combined armies, and where they heaped up provisions and ammunition for their troops. But all shall be expiated by its capture, and its magazines and cannon, shall make good a part of the mischief they have done to France. The sea, monopolized by the English, will feel itself more free, since Ostend is in the hands of the French ; and the sailing of some of their vessels, and the taking of others detained in the port by contrary winds, shall revenge us for the horrors perpetrated at Toulon."

On the 3d of July, the Duke of York's army, struck their tents, and marched from Renaix for Gramont, where they arrived at five in the evening. The sick were

were immediately sent to Antwerp, which diffused a general joy through the army, as it was thence inferred, that they were all soon to follow; and that the only object in view was to cover Holland.

Oudenarde and Mons, about this time were taken by the French. The prince of Cobourg was encamped with his army, in front of Brussels, near the forest of Soignies, where he determined to remain, till the Duke's army made good their retreat, and then to fall back, and leave Brussels to the enemy. The Emperor, it was thought, would soon abandon the whole of Flanders, in conformity with the plan which he had formed some time ago.

Early in the morning of the 4th, the Duke of York's artillery began to retreat from Gramont. The line moved off about seven, with the four battalions of guards and infantry in front, the cavalry bringing up the rear. They arrived at the heights of Lombeke St. Catharine, about four o'clock. Lord Cornwallis accompanied them on horseback, all the day, a circumstance that gave much pleasure to the army, who considered his presence as being in itself a *tower of strength*!

The Earl of Moira's army was now at Alost; but the two armies, it was believed, would not form a junction, unless in case of absolute necessity, as many young officers in his army had high brevet rank on the continent of Europe, which would occasion great jealousy and animosity, were the armies to do duty together.

After the capture of Mons, the republicans immediately repaired to Tournay, which they entered without firing a shot, the troops having evacuated that place on their approach. The republicans immediately after filed off to different quarters in Belgium. Meanwhile General Clairfayt left his position of Petteghem, to fall back to Ghent, which he evacuated on the 4th at ten o'clock in the morning. The French did not enter that place till twelve hours after, in which interval the populace committed the most scandalous excesses, and plundered and insulted all those peaceable citizens, who did not relish their principles and opinions.

With regard to the four above-mentioned fortresses, they were now invested with troops of the convention, in such a manner as to cut off all communication with the allies. The allied armies made every where an en-

ture retreat. A camp was marked out near Louvain, at Montagne de Fer, to receive the grand Austrian army, and it was generally believed, that the army, in case of necessity, would fall back beyond the river Meuse. The centre of the Austrian army, pressed close by the enemy, left its position of Jemappe, to retreat to the wood of Soignies.

On the morning of the 6th, the republicans attacked the allied troops in their new position at Waterloo; of which engagement the Prince of Orange transmitted the following account to the States General. "I hasten to communicate to your high lightness, that in consequence of an arrangement with the prince of Cobourg, and the Duke of York, I marched early in the morning with the combined army from Tübingen, towards Waterloo, in order to take the position hitherto occupied by the prince of Cobourg, with a view to cover the city of Brussels against an attack; the prince of Cobourg having taken post at Chamont. After arriving at Waterloo, we heard, on the side of Jemappe and Wittersee, where some Imperial troops were stationed, a strong cannonading, which induced me immediately to proceed thither. I found that the enemy, with a very superior force, and provided with an immense artillery, had repulsed the advanced posts, by a movement, which shewed their intention to attack at the same time both our right and left. However, after having taken a good position with our troops, who were already much fatigued with the march, and having mounted some batteries, the enemy were obliged to abandon their design. The cannonade lasted on both sides till late in the evening, after which the enemy retreated. I cannot yet ascertain our loss, though inconsiderable; I must, however, regret, that in consequence of the dragoons of Byland being engaged with the enemy, their brave colonel commandant, the prince of Hesse Philipsthal, after having received several wounds, was apparently killed, or fell into the hands of the enemy. Major de Brancy, Captain Marclay, and the Aide major, are likewise slightly wounded."

The same morning the French made an attack upon the out-posts at Alost; the piquets being driven in, they penetrated into the town, but, as soon as the Earl of Moira



Moirá advanced with a reinforcement, they retreated in confusion. Lord Moira highly applauded the conduct and spirit of the officers and men who were engaged upon this occasion, and particularly of lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandeleur, who were both wounded. Adjutant Graham, of the 8th regiment of light-dragoons, was unfortunately killed.

On the 9th, his royal highness the Duke of York, encamped his army near the village of Contique, about five miles from Antwerp, on the great road to Brussels. The French did not in the least attempt to interrupt or harass him on his march. Lord Moira now joined him with his army, which formed a second line to that commanded by the Duke. This junction rendered his force very respectable. The same day the troops from Ostend, under the command of colonel Vyse, arrived at Antwerp, and, with the artillery, were landed with the greatest expedition. Intelligence was also received at the camp, that the French had possessed themselves of Louvain.

Two days after, the French general, M. Almain, sent the following summons to the governor of Sluys: "Sir, the division of the French army under your walls informs you of the intention of the republic, with regard to the town under your command. I think it my duty, acting on the principles of humanity and loyalty, the guide of republicans, to lay before you the example of Ypres, Charleroi, and Ostend, Nieuport in flames; the defeat of the Imperial troops; the victory of Fleurus, the capture of Mons, Ghent, Tournay, Bruges, &c. ought to determine you, for the good of your country, to deliver up the place you command, and to send me hostages to treat with, on terms which will prevent misfortunes unavoidable from the ardour and courage of the republicans I have the honour to command. I wait for your answer, and hope you will not hesitate to take the course which alone can prevent the violent measures in my power, and which I shall not delay employing."—The governor's reply was spirited and laconic. "Sir, the honour of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me are my answer."

Early in the morning of the 15th, the French made an attempt to pass the canal that runs in front of Malines, but they were at last repulsed, after a very heavy firing,  
both

both of cannon and small arms. In the afternoon, however, after succeeding in their attempt to cross the canal, they took Malines, and then advanced two miles farther, close to the bridge of Waelhem, within four miles of the British camp, near Kontigh. Lord Moira's army in the mean time, was drawn up on the banks of the river Neethe, to oppose any attempts of the enemy to cross it, and the bridge was covered with combustibles, ready to be set on fire, the moment the enemy should approach.

During the night, the British troops retreated from the town of Waelhem, crossed the bridge over the river, and set fire to it, by which means, the enemy were prevented from following them. Next day, about noon, the enemy having advanced with their artillery into the village of Waelhem, attempted to force a passage across the river, in order to drive the troops on the opposite side, from their position. A very heavy cannonade was kept up by general Stewart's brigade, commanded by Captain Robertson of the artillery, who was slightly wounded on the occasion; the Austrian artillery having been early withdrawn from the field. The enemy made use of every effort without effect, and though their rifle-men picked off several of the artillery from the guns, and continued to annoy the troops, from the windows of the village, they were finally compelled to abandon their enterprise, about seven o'clock in the evening. The troops at this post were under the command of lieutenant-general sir William Erskine; and the loss in killed and wounded amounted to about eighty men, including those of the 12th, 38th, and 55th regiments. The artillery had nine killed and wounded.

The French advanced with one column, much at the same period, on the road from Malines to Duffel; But Lord Moira having detached two field-pieces, a battalion of infantry, with the remains of the 8th, as also the 15th and 16th regiments of light-dragoons, they compelled the enemy to retire, after the advance guard of the cavalry had been twice repulsed. The infantry had not an opportunity of coming into action, but on the main body of cavalry joining their advanced one, they fell on the enemy with the utmost impetuosity, calling out remember Embsdorff. This was the day on which that famous action had taken place, and in which the 15th regiment of light-dragoons had so nobly distinguished themselves

felyes, as to have *Emfsdorf* written ever after on their helmets.

The scene was afterwards somewhat curious. The French and English who, not many hours before, had been firing at each other with the greatest animosity, were sitting on the opposite banks of the river, trying who could beat each other at singing—the one party in a high tone singing *la Carmagnol*, &c. while the other was vociferously endeavouring to drown their voices, by singing, *Rule Britannia*, and *Hearts of Oak*.

Some days prior to this, the following decree, proposed by Barrere, was adopted by the convention: “The Committee of Public Safety having taken into consideration, the present mode of communication with the armies, find it defective and inadequate to the purpose. A coincidence of circumstances renders it essentially necessary that the conveyance of provision, ammunition, and forage, should be more frequent and expeditious. The rapid progress, the judicious movements, and the brilliant events achieved by the valour and discipline of the republican armies, demand an equal degree of celerity on our part to furnish them with the means of retaining their acquisitions, and of prosecuting their successes. The committee is aware of the inconvenience that must arise from the plan in contemplation, but the urgency of the measure, will be a sufficient justification. They propose, that all the horses and vehicles fit for public service, shall be put in a state of requisition, for the purpose of conveying to the armies of the North, such supplies of warlike stores, provisions, and forage, as will enable them to defend and retain the conquered countries. It is to our revolutionary operations, to our happy union, and grand display of talents, to the unanimity of our councils, and energy of execution, and to the multiplicity of our resources, that the success which has attended the republican arms ought to be attributed.”

“It is by these means that France has acquired the glory of disconcerting the projects, and repelling the attacks of tyranny and oppression; and by these are we enabled to carry the seat of war into nations labouring under the yoke of despotism. The committee of public safety, relying on the zeal and alacrity of the Commune of Paris, and those contiguous, to  
“pro-

prosecute the success of the republican arms, to supply the  
 defenders of their country, with the means of prosecuting  
 their victories, and of continuing in pursuit of the  
 flying enemy, decrees, that carriages and horses, fit for  
 baggage waggons, or any other public service whatever,  
 shall be put in a state of requisition, for the purpose of  
 conveying to the armies of the North, provisions of  
 all kinds, forage, arms, and ammunition, cloathing,  
 tents, and camp equipage of every denomination. During  
 this short interval, all horses and carriages shall be  
 at the disposal of the commissioners of conveyance, who  
 shall appoint the time of their departure, and their destination,  
 in conformity to the directions which will be given them.  
 The drivers shall in like manner be in a state of requisition.  
 Every owner shall drive his vehicle, unless he be too infirm  
 through age, or otherwise not in a condition to perform that  
 service. In such cases a substitute of known civism, shall be  
 chosen by the revolutionary committee. The municipality of  
 Paris shall convene the assembly of the sections, to proclaim  
 the numerous victories gained by the armies of the republic,  
 and the necessity of furnishing them with the means of  
 destroying the tyrants and their satellites. Each section  
 shall take an account of the horses and carriages fit for  
 service, and of the men who are to drive them. Orders  
 shall be given to the drivers to have their machines in  
 readiness, and to attend every two hours at the office in  
 their respective districts, where they shall receive directions  
 relative to their loading, and places of destination. Each  
 section shall enclose a duplicate of the statement given in  
 to the municipality, who shall forward a copy of it to the  
 committee of public safety, and to the commissioners of  
 conveyance. The commissioners shall notify to the revolutionary  
 committee of each section, the order to be observed in meeting,  
 loading, and departing; and from this committee the men shall  
 receive their final directions. The municipality of the adjoining  
 communes, in which the citizens who constitute the police, and  
 perform public services in Paris are domiciliated, shall act in  
 conformity to the regulations prescribed to the sections of  
 Paris by the fifth article, and shall take an account of the  
 men, horses, and vehicles, that are fit for public service;  
 the report shall be made to the department, and a copy of it  
 sent to the committee of public safety, and to the commissioners  
 of conveyance. All proprietors of horses and carriages shall be  
 enjoined to give in immediately

“diately an account of their stock. In case of wilful neglect or delay, they shall forfeit both horses and carriages, and be liable to imprisonment till the peace.”

At their next sitting, Barrere addressed himself to the convention in the following manner, respecting the victories obtained by the French armies: “Since our last intelligence from the armies, several successes have taken place, which I am now to recount to you. From the south to the north, and from the Sambre to the Rhine, the troops of the republic are still victorious. A few days ago, the pride of the house of Austria passed under the yoke; at present the vanity of the Spanish house of Capet, is doomed to share the same fate. The army of the Eastern Pyrenees continue their march into Spanish Cerdagne. Rich magazines, military stores, ammunition and cartridges, the muskets deposited in their armouries, have fallen into our hands. Their magazines have been destroyed and laid in ruins, in order that the Spaniards may not employ them in future against the cause of freedom. The post of l’Etoile, has been taken, with three hundred tents, mules loaded with ammunition, and some prisoners. Several standards, and some silver saints, the treasure of monkish avarice, have been brought to the French camp. New victories are still gained over the proud Castilians; the army commanded by Dugommier has given a fatal blow to these slaves; six hundred of them have fallen, four hundred are taken prisoners. Amidst these successes, the volunteers have given fresh proofs of their courage and warlike activity; you cannot hear the recital without decreeing honourable mention to be made of them in the Procès-Verbal. If from the Pyrenees we pass to the Rhine, you will see that the army there have attacked the Prussians in all points, and every where the enemy have been defeated and pursued. The advanced posts of the enemy have been cut to pieces, and all the villages, as well as posts, have been carried with the greatest valour, and several Prussians have fallen in the engagement. From the army of the Sambre and Meuse, we learn, that they are advancing towards Brussels. Wavre, Jemappe, Marbrais, Sombref, are occupied by the republicans, and the famous troops of Cobourg have been repulsed all the way to the entrance of the forest of Soignes. Thus all Austria will pass under the yoke; for the success of the army of the republic can no longer meet with any check. In Oudenarde, we have taken twenty-four pieces of cannon, and likewise  
“twenty

“twenty at Tournay, ten thousand bullets, and three hundred rations of forage and hay, with fourteen boats laden with ammunition, and a great quantity of other articles, which will reimburse the republic a part of the expence of the revolutionary school, which it has instituted to promote the cause of liberty.”

About this time intelligence was received from Barcelona, that about the middle of June, the French had attacked the advanced posts of Llers, which form the van-guard of the camp of Figueras. Their attack was made with such promptitude and spirit, that they penetrated into the camp of Walloons, and the cavalry of Alcantara: but general Courten having rallied his men, and being reinforced by two battalions and some companies of grenadiers, repulsed them with considerable loss, and pursued them beyond el Palan, where he remained formed in order of battle, the greater part of the morning. The enemy in this affair had a column of about 4000 thousand men; at the same time a numerous body of their troops drew towards Hermitage del Boura, Pont de Molins, and Vilarnadal, in different columns, covering the summit of the adjacent heights. They attacked the Hermitage first, which, after it had sustained a heavy fire of musquetry for a considerable time, they made themselves masters of: but the fire of cannon which was made upon them there by the batteries, and at the advanced posts of Pont de Molins, kept them in check; and the battalions of Hibernia and Malaga, with some other troops that could be collected at the moment, advancing under that fire, dislodged the enemy again with the bayonet: a smart fire of cannon and howitzers was then begun from the Pont de Molins and Vilarnadal, upon the main body of the French, which had advanced and established several flying batteries against those posts. During this fire, many evolutions and formations were executed in the plain, by the cavalry on both sides, in order to be able to attack with advantage, till at length the royal carabineers, fell upon the French Hussars, who waited formed in battle, till they had fired their pistols, and then fled in complete disorder, each taking his own way; upon which the rest of the cavalry also charged, and the French infantry followed the horses with such precipitation, that only one battalion could be overtaken, and the greater part of it put to the sword, by the regiments del Principe and Bourbon: the action lasted from about six in the morning till one. The return of killed and wounded on the side of the Spaniards, was computed at about 150 men, including 12 officers; that

that of the French could not be easily ascertained, but was very considerable. Their general of cavalry, La Bare, was found among the dead, and on him several letters and papers from Dugommier.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Defeat of the Prussians—Nanur entered by the French—Clairfayt defeated—Address of the Stadtholder to the United States—Revolution in Geneva—Massacre at Barcelona.*

TOWARDS the middle of July, the campaign became very hot in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. On the 12th, at two in the morning, the French attacked the Prussians towards Edickhoffen; and to favour their operations in this quarter, advanced at the same time upon the Austrians before Spire. The battle was long and bloody in all points, but the French were at length repulsed.

Next day they renewed the attack upon the Prussians, with more fury and perseverance than before. The battle lasted from two in the morning, till nine at night. The principal object of the enemy was to carry a redoubt on a height near Edesheim. Seven times they attacked it with fresh troops. Each of their columns was repulsed, but successively replaced by another, till, towards nine at night, the Prussians being overpowered by fatigue, after fighting nineteen hours, in a very warm day, during which they had not even time to eat, lost the post they had defended with so much courage. The French also took advantage of the approach of night to attack it on two sides at once. The ditches were filled with their dead: the Prussians retreated at eleven towards Edickhoffen: this was the corps under the command of the hereditary prince of Hohenloë.

On the morning of the 14th, the French again attacked both the Prussians and the Austrians; but the cannonade did not last long. It is said that the Prussians having retaken the post of Triptstadt, after a very brisk action, this event suspended the retreat towards the Rhine, which the allied armies before seemed to intend. The Prussian general Psau was killed in the action of the 13th, and two other generals were wounded. Among the prisoners taken by the

Prussians on the 12th, was Laboiffere, a French General.

The French armies of the Rhine and Moselle, at this time received a reinforcement of 15,000 from the army of the Alps, and another of 12, or 15,000 from the army of the Ardennes, besides the new levies of the third requisition from Alsace and Lorraine. Their forces between the Moselle and the Rhine, were estimated at 100,000; but the German troops opposed to them were not inferior in number. The probability, however, of the French penetrating once more into these countries, and committing such ravages as they did last winter, spread general terror and flight.

In the afternoon of the 15th, the French repeated their attack on the whole chain of troops from Neustadt to the Rhine, along the Rehback. The battle was obstinate, and extremely bloody. The report of the cannon was heard without intermission, from two till eight o'clock. The French succeeded at last in pushing forward from the mountains, and in the night all the German troops retreated with the greatest precipitation. The Imperial army passed the Rhine, and the Prussians under the hereditary prince Hohenloe, retired towards Gunterblum, by way of Durkheim, and Waoenheim. The rest of the Prussian troops, posted near Lantern, quitted that neighbourhood, and took the road of Winweiler towards Mentz, after the French, by their superiority, and their furious and incessant attacks, had penetrated to the environs of Trippstadt. On these two posts the French are supposed to have lost upwards of 4000 men. The loss of the Prussians was very considerable. Among the many wounded officers were the lieutenant-generals Kleist and Kunitzky.

The French began to bombard Namur on the 12th, when they summoned the garrison to surrender. This being refused, they redoubled their fire, and damaged several houses. The garrison returned their fire with great briskness, and dismounted a battery, which they had erected near a place called Beauvallon. On the 15th the cannonade ceased, and a musket-fire was only kept up. On the 17th the French took possession of Namur; and the garrison which had been reinforced to 5000 men, quitted that place, leaving only 400 men in the castle.

About this time the prince of Cobourg removed his head-quarters to Landen; and the army occupied the excellent position of Neerwinde, celebrated for two bloody battles. General Clairfayt commanded the left wing of the army, and Beaulieu took the command of the right.



It was the resolution of the combined army to defend Namur, to form a junction with the other allies in the adjacent countries, and, after collecting the whole strength of this part of the army in Louvain, to co-operate with the British in the neighbourhood of Antwerp. For this purpose, general Melas, with sixteen or seventeen thousand men, had been ordered to maintain a strong position on the right bank of the Meuse. But the rapid progress and uncommon success of the enemy defeated all these plans; and Melas was obliged to preserve his little army against the incursions of the triumphant French, by an immediate junction with Prince Cobourg, in the neighbourhood of Tirlemont.

The important pass of the Lier now fell into the hands of the enemy. General Walmoden was posted there with the Hanoverians. The brave Clairfayt experienced misfortune upon misfortune. He sustained a severe and irrecoverable loss at Montigny de Per. Harassed on all quarters by the French troops, he was obliged to hazard an engagement, in which he was defeated. Many of the enemy fell. The carnage was dreadful; and Clairfayt accomplished his retreat, after losing, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of six thousand men. Thus one half of his little army became inevitable sacrifices to preserve the lives of the other.

Valenciennes, Condé, Quefnoy, and Landrecy, were now all surrounded by the enemy.

During these warlike operations, the Stadtholder thus addressed the United States. "High and Mighty Lords, when, in the beginning of the last year, this State was unexpectedly attacked by the French, and the enemy had, in a short space of time, nearly approached the last frontier of the Province of Holland, I thought it incumbent on me, in consequence of the respective posts trusted to my care, to lay my views before your High Mightinesses, as also the grounds of my confidence in the salvation of our country.—This I proposed in the assembly of your High Mightinesses, on the 28th of February 1793, and I had, in that moment of danger, the inexpressible happiness of seeing the spirit of the nation roused, of seeing how the inhabitants joined heart and hand, and how effectually our allies co-operated: it has since pleased the Supreme Being to grant us a successful issue, by driving the enemy from our territory, and by the conquering  
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“ arms of the states, with our friends and allies, removing the seat of war into the enemy’s own country. We now see, however, High and Mighty Lords, a wonderful revolution in the state of affairs, attended with the loss of the greater part of our advantages, the enemy having penetrated and advanced near our frontiers; and instead of our carrying on the war offensively, they have forced us to act in our own defence. It is under such circumstances, that it behoves all those who more or less bear a share in conducting public affairs, to step forward with their undisguised sentiments, and cordially take the lead of the good inhabitants, and by such means cement a mutual confidence, without which the country cannot be saved.

“ With this view I once more appear before you in this Assembly, to declare to your High Mightinesses, from the bottom of my heart, that I am ready and firmly determined, supported by the wise and vigorous measures of your High Mightinesses, and the lords of the respective provinces, to sacrifice my life in defence of our country; and also to assure you, that I do by no means despair of saving the state, if we, with additional courage and fortitude, under the goodness of Providence, employ the ready and effectual means in our power; and finally to declare to your High Mightinesses, that I hold the least neglect of such necessary exertions, and every indication of despondency and fear, as inevitably tending towards the irretrievable loss of our country. I will, no more than last year, conceal the real danger: the true knowledge of this danger being requisite to call in aid every possible means of resistance. Still, were we to consult the history of our republic, we should find circumstances of peril, compared to which, the present appears to vanish.

“ Our brave ancestors fought and obtained their liberty and independence in the midst of such difficulties, as human foresight could not reasonably hope to surmount, notwithstanding which, did they constantly spurn at all the insidious overtures offered them; they thought themselves more secure in manfully facing the dangers of war, than suffering themselves to be deceived by a treacherous peace. While king Philip and his adherents continued to be considered as enemies, our forefathers had to defend themselves only against open hostilities,

“ but had the enemy in appearance become friends and  
“ brothers, the weapons of deceit, seduction, and corrup-  
“ tion, would have proved far more alarming than a state  
“ of open warfare. Are we to suppose the present situa-  
“ tion worse than that in 1672, when not only single  
“ towns, but three provinces of the Union were in posses-  
“ sion of the enemy? Or that of 1747, when all  
“ Dutch Flanders and the strong frontier of Bergen-op-  
“ Zoom were lost? Or, lastly, than that of 1793, the  
“ recent events of which are too well known? If nei-  
“ ther our ancestors nor ourselves, during those periods,  
“ shewed symptoms of despondency, how disgraceful  
“ would it be in us, under our present circumstances, did  
“ we enter on the defence of the State without energy  
“ and determined courage? Were we to compare the  
“ means of defence actually in the power of the repub-  
“ lic with those in former wars, we are most assuredly  
“ no less in a state prepared to repel the attacks of the  
“ enemy, than we were in the abovementioned periods.  
“ The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and con-  
“ tinues to be improved: we have an army on foot, who  
“ have signalized themselves by their bravery during  
“ the two last campaigns, and who will act if possible  
“ more so, when fighting for their all. The cheerful-  
“ ness, joined to the courage of our seamen, hath shewn  
“ itself in the year 1793. Neither is the republic with-  
“ out allies, who, as far as their own situation may ad-  
“ mit, will strengthen her: but it is of infinitely more  
“ weight than to depend on human efforts, to consider  
“ that the God of Heaven and Earth, having so often  
“ brought about our deliverance, when the prospect  
“ seemed most dreary, we have at this time good grounds  
“ to hope, under him, for the achievement of honour-  
“ able and glorious deeds.

“ If there are in the republic such unnatural and de-  
“ generate Dutchmen, who wish for the approach of the  
“ enemy, because they may imagine it will procure  
“ them the means of gratifying their private vindictive  
“ spirit; who with such views endeavour to do mischief,  
“ by intimidating their fellow-citizens against their taking  
“ up arms in the common cause; let us consider them as  
“ internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with  
“ no less vigilance than we do those of our foreign enemy.  
“ The pacific system which this republic, as a Commercial  
“ State, hath ever adopted, I hold to be most to her advan-

“tage; but God forbid we should wish for peace at the  
 “expendence of our security and independence: if we must  
 “lose these inestimable blessings, through the superior  
 “force of an enemy, it will be an event sincerely to be  
 “lamented; but should we make a voluntary surrender  
 “of the same, then should we become an object of con-  
 “tempt to all nations.

“That this state hath given France no cause for war,  
 “is notorious to all the world. That people might  
 “among themselves persecute the Christian worship,  
 “overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, arbitrar-  
 “ly dispose of the freedom, the lives and property of  
 “their fellow-countrymen. Our state saw all this with  
 “inexpressible grief, it is true, but never had the most  
 “distant wish of declaring war against the opinions of  
 “this deluded people. In spite of our moderation, have  
 “we been suddenly and most unjustly attacked; this at-  
 “tack having been preceded by a decree of the Nation-  
 “al Convention, whereby it appears, that the reason of  
 “this destructive war is to put all countries and nations  
 “on a footing of equality with the miseries of France,  
 “namely, to destroy the religious worship of our fore-  
 “fathers, the fundamental laws of the state, and to work  
 “a total subversion of our true freedom. These, High and  
 “Mighty Lords, are the objects for which we should  
 “enter into a treaty of capitulation, in case the war is to  
 “terminate agreeable to the enemy’s views; however,  
 “these very objects must never be made the subject of  
 “treaties, but for their better security and preservation.  
 “With regard to myself, I know no medium between  
 “a vigorous resistance and pusillanimous submission;  
 “and I doubt not for a single moment about the coheice  
 “of your High Mightinesses, that of the states of the  
 “Provinces, and of the well-disposed in the country.  
 “Let every individual, whatever be his religious or civil  
 “principles (provided he is no enemy to his country  
 “and to his own interest) rally round the standard in  
 “favour of the common cause of his country: let every  
 “one within his circle contribute towards her protec-  
 “tion to the utmost of his power: let the necessary  
 “supplies be furnished, and I have hopes, I might say  
 “I trust with confidence, that we shall be able to defend  
 “ourselves, and under Providence, Protect the honour,  
 “and promote the prosperity of the Netherlands.”

“Behold, High and Mighty Lords, what in duty I

“owe

“owe to the whole nation, to a people among whom I  
 “was born and educated, for whose independence a great  
 “number of my ancestors sacrificed their lives, for  
 “whose welfare I am ready to spill my last drop of  
 “blood, and for which both my sons have given proofs  
 “of their not being unworthy the name they bear.—I  
 “wish then for nothing more than the co-operation of  
 “my fellow-citizens, and the reward of my house will be  
 “their liberty, independence, and permanent happiness.”

The deputies of the several Provinces, having deliberated upon the address of his Highness the Prince Stadtholder, fully accorded with him in the noble sentiments therein manifested, declaring, at the same time, that they had no doubt of the co-operation of the different Provinces at so critical a period as the present; and of their determination to use all their efforts, in aid and support of his Highness, by the sacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and support of their country.

Their High Mightinesses further assured M. Von Schuylenberg, their President, that they would take the more essential points recommended by his Highness into immediate consideration, in order to rid the state of the difficulties it now laboured under, flattering themselves, that the means of defence adopted would prevent the enemy from penetrating any further; and that, under the divine blessing, their efforts would be crowned with a happy issue, and the honour and prosperity of the Netherlands be finally supported; all vain and premature apprehensions be suppressed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that such as wished for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, might be disarmed;—it being particularly necessary, that the most observant attention should be paid to these *internal enemies* of their country, much more dangerous than *those without*, open and declared.

As the revolution in Geneva, which happened at this period, is one of those remarkable vicissitudes, which have lately distinguished the politics of Europe, the causes which produced it, and the means pursued for its accomplishment, merit our attention. On Friday, the 18th of July, M. Soulavie and Merle, commissioners from the French Convention, resident at Geneva, gave a grand dinner to the principal members of a society,

intituled, The Club of the Mountain, alias *The Marfeillefe Club*, confifting of the moft violent patriots of that city, On breaking up, which did not happen till an early hour in the morning, the members of the club had recourfe to arms, and arming the populace at the fame time, took poffeffion of the gates and arsenals. They next proceeded to felect a revolutionary committee, or a committee of *public fafety*, compofed of feven members, by whom every perfon, inimical to their interefts, was juftly apprehended. As it was impoffible for the prifons to contain the whole of them, they were conveyed to water towers of the Baftion, intituled, *The Baftion of Holland*, and to the different public magazines. The number of perfons thus apprehended, amounted to nearly a thoufand. Two hundred, who were in a ftate of profeription, contrived to make their efcape.

It is worthy of remark, that no one *female was imprifoned*, notwithstanding feveral were ordered before the committee, interrogated, and infulted. Whether in feizing on the perfons of individuals, or in making domiciliary vifits, to come at thofe they wifhed to apprehend, the revolutionifts paid but little refpect to property. In *arrefting M. Necker*, late prime minifter of France under the monarchy, at his country feat, they took poffeffion of his plate and a confiderable fum of fpecie. The houfe of M. Saladin de Craus was plundered, as well as feveral others; but, on thefe occafions, no perfonal violence was offered.

On Sunday the 20th, the Revolutionary Committee, named by the clubs, published the following proclamation. "EQUALITY, LIBERTY, and INDEPENDENCE. "Revolutionary citizens, the revolution of the 28th of December, 1792, was more ferviceable to the ariftocrats, "than to the revolutionifts. The former, always incorrigible, and invariably the enemies of liberty, have fuffered no abatement of their criminal hopes and liberticidal "pretentions. The moment is now arrived, when the revolutionifts, wearied of living among men, who have not "ceafed for a moment to be inimical both to them and the "French Republic, have been forced to rife for the completion of the work which had nearly been entered on, "and to infure the everlafting triumph of the principles of "equality, in our country.

"Revolutionary citizens, your moderation has hitherto "merely ferved to enfnare you, and to embolden the ariftocrats, and give confiftency to their culpable views. "It is time that the people fhould have juftice done; and  
" with

“with this intention the revolutionary committee lays  
“before you the following plan: 1. A revolutionary tri-  
“bunal, consisting of twenty-one members, shall be form-  
“ed. 2. The revolutionists, assembled in a body at the  
“national Lyceum, shall elect this tribunal by a single pro-  
“cess, and according to the relative majorities. 3. The  
“electors shall not return more than twenty-one citizens,  
“and not less than eleven. 4. No one shall refuse his  
“vote, on penalty of being considered as a suspected per-  
“son, and treated as such. 5. Each revolutionary citi-  
“zen, without any exception, shall be enjoined to repair  
“armed to-morrow, the 21st of July, at eight in the  
“morning, to the national Lyceum, and there to vote, on  
“pain of being considered as a suspected person, and treat-  
“ed as such. 6. The revolutionary tribunal shall try  
“those who are imprisoned, as well as those who have  
“escaped for the present, and have fled since the revolu-  
“tion. 7. It may pronounce sentence of death, pecuniary  
“fines, banishment, &c. 8. Every sentence of death  
“shall be subject to the approval of the whole body of the  
“revolutionary citizens. 9. The revolutionary tribunal  
“shall complete its functions within the space of six days,  
“reckoning from the moment of its election. 10. A mi-  
“litary committee shall be created, to consist of seven  
“members, who are to watch over the public safety, and  
“to execute the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal.  
“It shall succeed the revolutionary committee at the ex-  
“piration of its powers. The members of each circle  
“are enjoined to give their suffrages in the most public  
“manner, as all true revolutionists ought to do.”

This plan was approved, and the revolutionary tribunal elected, on the 21st, by about three thousand voices. A circumstance which characterized this event was, that among the prisoners, all the ecclesiastics, not one excepted, are comprehended: the revolutionists even went so far as to apprehend one of them in the pulpit in the midst of his sermon.

The cause of this event, according to some, has been owing to the desire of pillage and robbery, and to favour the efficiency of the revolutionary government, entirely unconnected with French politics, the Genevese revolutionists aiming at a thorough independence. Others, on the contrary, consider Soulavie, the Frenchman, as being the chief mover, and as having brought about the insurrection, with a view to put the city in the possession of his countrymen. For our part we think both causes have

contributed to the event. It is certain that the folly and depredations of the former revolutionary government having exhausted the treasury, it became necessary to fill it again, for which purpose the most burthenome imposts were adopted. In the club, it was proposed, on Friday the 18th, that these imposts should be abolished, and that the rich should be compelled to furnish money for the expences of the republic. This proposition was adopted, and they had recourse to arms on the 19th to enforce the resolution, and the rich actually carried their effect to the treasury.

Soulavie was at the head of every thing; his confidants took on themselves the whole of the management; and so fully was he prepared for what was to happen, that, early on Saturday morning, he transmitted to the club a list of those who were to be apprehended, with orders to seize them wherever they could be found.

At this time, there were no French troops, in the environs of Geneva, which by some was attributed to the policy of Soulavie, that it might not be said that the French had seized on Geneva.

The revolutionary tribunal was no sooner elected, than it proceeded to exercise its functions. On the 22d it sentenced to death fourteen persons. Seven of these sentences were confirmed by the revolutionary mass. The others were changed into banishment, or imprisonment, with confiscation of property.

Whilst Geneva was in such a ferment, a riot and massacre took place at Barcelona. The corps, composed of French deserters and prisoners, called Royal Rouillon, which had been sent back from the frontiers, and indeed disbanded by dismissal, or incorporation of the officers into other regiments, had continued here in a state of great disorder, on account of the irreconcilable enmity that reigned between the two parties. All the deserters had been some days ago returned to the citadel, and were most of them entering into la Legion de la Reyna. The rest of the corps, about three hundred, consisted entirely of enlisted prisoners, but differing still in their politics, continued in a state of strife and disorder, shut up in the quarter called St. Augustin, upon the Esplanada, until the Sunday afternoon, when the majority having pourtrayed some wretched figures of the Tree of Liberty, of a King, of a Guillotine, &c. forced the rest to dance, and sing republican songs. The government ordered a detachment of the other French corps, called la Legion de la Reyna, to go  
and



and suppress the riot, and seize the ringleaders, which was accordingly done, and twenty-eight of the most turbulent were taken out and carried to the quarters at Barcelona. This, however, unfortunately taking place just at the time when the streets were crowded by the populace following a procession, a mob was immediately gathered upon the Esplanada; and the incredible insolence of these wretches, who had dared thus openly to insult the king and the nation, fermenting, with false and exaggerated circumstances in the minds of the people, they insisted that the delinquents should immediately be put to death upon the spot on which they had been guilty. By this time, the captain general, the governor of the town, and the principal magistrates of the Royal Audencia, were assembled before the quarters, and used every means to appease the tumult that still continued within, and where a member of the French were supposed to have been wounded, and even killed by their commanders. All endeavours, however, proving ineffectual, and the people continuing clamorous and refusing to be satisfied, until all the real delinquents should be executed in the morning, about ten o'clock, the troops which had surrounded the quarters, that is, detachments from the regiment del Rey cavalry, from that of Murcia infantry, some Valencian recruits, the thief-takers, the Mazos de la Esquadra, and with them as many of the town's people as chose it, were allowed to enter and quell the riot by force. The consequence of this rash measure was, that every person found in the quarters was immediately killed, or dangerously wounded. One hundred and twenty three of the dead were publicly buried; between seventy and eighty of the wounded were sent to the hospital, and about forty who had been so lucky as to escape, by different ways, were afterwards collected at the deserters' depot. After the massacre was over in the quarters, one or two accidents took place without. Two of the French deserters, who were at work in the covered way of the citadel, were killed, it is not known by whom; and an Italian, quite unconcerned in the fray, being taken for a Frenchman, was murdered in the market-place del Borne, by a dragoon.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*The French in possession of all the Netherlands.—Lord Moira's address to his army.—British army encamped near Breda.—Death and Character of Robespierre.—An American Ambassador is sent to the French Republic.—A Dreadful fire, and Riots in London.*

THE French, on the 23rd of July, sent a trumpeter into Antwerp, to inform the inhabitants that they intended visiting them the next day, which they accordingly did at eleven o'clock in the morning, and took quiet possession of the place which had been entirely abandoned by the allies. On their retreat, however, the allies set fire to considerable magazines of forage at Antwerp, which they could not possibly carry off. In the course of a few weeks, they had destroyed different kinds of forage to the value of *half a million sterling*, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The military chest, stores, and all things valuable, were now removed to Williamstadt; the Austrian Netherlands being in the complete and uncontrouled possession of the French.

From Antwerp the earl of Moira set out for England; but before he left the army he made to them the following address. "Particular circumstances calling Lord Moira immediately to England, he is to be succeeded by lieutenant-general Abercrombie. Lord Moira, however, cannot surrender his command, without intreating the officers, and men of the corps which accompanied him from Ostend, to accept his warmest and most grateful thanks for the kind and cheerful acquiescence he has experienced from them, in the severe fatigues to which he was obliged to subject them. He has the assurance, that he is still to have their support, in the service to which they were originally destined; and that hope lessens his reluctance at ceasing, for the present, to share the honourable dangers of service. He trusts they will believe, that no light consideration would have obliged him to quit them; as he persuades himself that they are sensible of his having endeavoured to repay the generous attachment they have shewn to him, by the most lively interest for their welfare. For the present he bids them farewell, with the most fervent prayers for their honour,

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"and prosperity."—Lord Moira, on joining the Duke of York's army, found himself one of the youngest major-generals in the line; and that instead of commanding his army, he would scarcely be intitled to command a brigade. On that account he chose to resign his command.

On the 30th of July, between five and six o'clock in the morning, four squadrons of British Light Dragoons, four of Hessians, with the Brigade of guards, and two Hessian battalions, with their field pieces, under the command of general Abercrombie, marched from Roofendaël, about two miles beyond the village of Nispen, and there, on the common, formed the line. The infantry remained in this position, ready to support general Hamerstein, who advanced with the cavalry to reconnoitre. He proceeded to the distance of five miles beyond the infantry, without seeing a Frenchman; and was informed by some of the peasants, that the French had no posts within four miles of Antwerp.

The army soon after marched to the ground, at Oosenhout, about four miles distant from Breda, where it was intended they should act for the defence of Holland. The right column passed through Breda, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whilst the left column went round it. The right of the line extended towards the river Merk, and the left towards the river de Donge. The head quarters of the Duke of York were at the town of Ousterhooft, about two miles in the rear of the line. The Prince of Orange was now employed in putting Breda in a state of defence. Guns, howitzers, and ammunition, together with every other description of military stores, were entering the place. The garrison was to consist only of six thousand men, which was thought very inadequate to defend the numerous and very extensive works of this celebrated fortress.

Whilst such uncommon success attended the arms of France, some members of the convention were contriving the ruin of Robespierre. *The measure of the Dictator's iniquity was now full, and the voice of the blood of thousands called for vengeance on his head.*

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"He had ventur'd,  
 " Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,  
 " For several summers in a sea of glory;  
 " But far beyond his depth; his high blown pride  
 " At length broke under him, and left him to his fate.  
 " And when he thought, presumptuous man, full surely  
 " His greatness was a ripening, his root was nipt;  
 " And when he fell, he fell like *Lucifer*,  
 " Never to hope again."

\* Shakspere.

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Many speeches were made on the 25th of July, both in the Jacobin club and in the convention, respecting the necessity of restoring the freedom of the national representation, preventing the overthrow of the convention, and of counteracting the bloody projects which intriguers were plotting. On the 26th Robespierre made a long speech, in which he attempted to justify the purity of his views, whilst he replied to the reproaches made against him of aspiring to the Dictatorship. He said, that since the period of his having proclaimed the existence of a Supreme Being, the successors of Hebert and Danton had become more inveterate against him. He then endeavoured to shew the falsehood of the reports circulated in the convention and in Paris, of his having proposed to cause thirty members to be arrested. He next touched on the situation of the republic. "The committees of public safety and general surety," said he, "contain the pillars of liberty, but the greater number are crushed. The decree against the English is not carried into execution. The system of Dumourier continues to be pursued in Belgium. They, are replanting in that country the trees of liberty, they are driving to a distance the cannoners of Paris. They are wishing to produce a change in the situation of the republic. It is necessary that the committees should act, but it is likewise necessary to superintend these operations. It is incumbent on the convention to assume the dignity which belongs to its character."

"The moment when liberty is to be revived, said Freron, "is that when the freedom of opinions is re-established. I demand that the convention rescind the decree which grants to the committees the power of apprehending the *members of the convention*. Where is the man who can dare to speak with freedom, when he dreads an arrest? and he who is prevented, by dread, from speaking his sentiments, is not worthy of the title of a representative of the people." Freron's proposition was supported by another member, who maintained that *liberty could not exist*, if it were not adopted, which it accordingly was, after a debate of considerable length.

In the sitting of the 27th St. Just appeared at the tribune. "I am of no faction, said he, I will contend against them all. Your committees of general surety, and of public safety, have charged me to make a report on the causes of the evident perversion of opinion; but I mean to address myself to you, and only in my own name." St. Just, who had come prepared to support the  
 sentiments

sentiments which had been delivered from the tribune, the day before, by Robespierre, was here interrupted by shouts of disapprobation from all quarters of the convention.

After a considerable degree of tumult, Tallien at least spoke to order. "The orator, said he, has set out with telling you that he is of no party. I likewise espouse only the side of truth. Yesterday a member of the government\*, presented to you a report upon his own authority. To-day, another member comes to speak to you in his own name. No good citizens can refrain from lamenting, with tears, the abject and calamitous state to which the republic is reduced, when individuals pretend thus to *dictate to you in their own name, and upon their own authority.*"

Billaud de Varennes now got up and accused Robespierre pointedly of being a tyrant. "You will shudder with horror," said he, "when you are apprized that the armed force of Paris is intrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot was denounced by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice of Hebert. What was the consequence. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name who that individual was!—Robespierre. I might quote many more proofs of the same audacity on the part of Robespierre, and of his infamous designs against liberty—among others, I need only mention that he has been the author of the imprisonment of the members of the revolutionary committee of the section of indivisibility, men of the most unfulfilled integrity, and of the most distinguished patriotism. I accuse him of having withdrawn himself from the committee for these four last decades, since the decree with respect to the revolutionary tribunal passed, which he alone devised—and which was badly received. Thus he intended to drive from the convention every impure man; that is to say, every person who did not please him, or whom he might suspect to be possessed of sufficient discernment to detect, and integrity to oppose, his ambitious views; and as a preparatory step to the establishing himself in that dictatorship which has so long been the object of his wishes, he would have left none in the convention but his creatures and dependents, men as vile as himself, and ready to forward all his detestable views. But his designs were discovered by the very means which he took to carry them into execution. From the facts which I

\* Robespierre.

“ briefly stated, his intentions to corrupt the military, to  
 “ enslave and to degrade the representation, appear plain and  
 “ incontrovertible. Are more facts still necessary in order  
 “ to substantiate the charges against him? I accuse him of  
 “ having screened from justice a secretary who had robbed  
 “ the public of forty thousand livres.—Such is the founda-  
 “ tion on which stands his pretensions to disinterested-  
 “ ness, which were only assumed in order to conceal the  
 “ deep-laid projects of his ambition, and to deceive those  
 “ whom he afterwards meant to enslave. I accuse him  
 “ with being surrounded by a band of ruffians, among  
 “ whom it is only necessary to mention the infamous name  
 “ of Daubigny. With all his affectation of probity, such  
 “ were the associates whom alone he could admit into his  
 “ confidence, or trust for the completion of his designs.  
 “ I proclaim,—I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre.”

Robespierre attempted to speak; but after different efforts found himself obliged to desist, in consequence of the most vociferous exclamations, from every quarter, of “ *Down with the Tyrant! Down with the Tyrant!* ”

“ In the house of that guilty individual,” said Tallien, “ who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected guilt, and overwhelmed with that disapprobation, which his infamous designs against liberty have to justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription, which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. Imitating the example of the detestable Sylla, his proscriptions were intended only to pave the way for his own power, and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship: happily however his designs have been discovered before he had time to execute them, or to add to that stream of blood which has already deluged France. His long success in villany made him at last lay aside his wanted caution. He had advanced with such rapidity in the career of lawless ambition that he already conceived himself arrived at the accomplishment of his wishes; and that, like Cæsar, the name of *King* was only wanting to him, for the full establishment of his power. Was it to subject ourselves to so degrading, to abject a tyranny, and to acknowledge so petty a despot, that we swore to establish liberty at the price of life? No. The spirit of freedom has not sunk so low. The sense of that duty, which virtuous men owe to their country, is not yet extinguished. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus\*. Like him, I have a po-

\* Tallien fixed his eyes on the bust.

“piard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice. The French people, always just, are attached neither to Robespierre nor to any other individual, liberty is alone the object of their affections, and whoever forms any designs against it, becomes that moment their enemy. That liberty they will ever pursue amidst the intrigues of domestic traitors, and the opposition of foreign enemies. The republic is to be established, not only by the victories of our armies, but by the vigilance of our councils, and the justice of our punishments. After what you have heard, it is not necessary to remind you of the proceedings of that sitting of the Jacobins, where Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, the creature, and confederate of Robespierre, had the audacity to insult the representatives of the people. Need I call to your remembrance the expression addressed to the journalists, in one of the last sittings? ‘*I prohibit you from inserting my discourses in your papers, till you have previously communicated them to me.*’ Here we already find the tone of the dictator; for the language of the prohibition is, ‘*The people shall know nothing except through my organ, and in the manner in which I shall be pleased to communicate it to them.*’ Well indeed might he court the aid of silence and deception, whose designs were too infamous to be revealed, and whose conduct required to be glossed over with all the artifice of hypocrisy. But the French people were not to be enslaved, after having shaken off the tyranny of force. The guilt of the traitor now stands revealed, and it now remains only to think of their punishment.”

Tallien then proposed the permanency of the sittings, and the arrest of Henriot, the commandant of the national guard, both which were decreed. Billaud then named several other creatures of Robespierre, all of whom it was immediately decreed should be arrested. Barrere then read an address to the people, which was unanimously approved, and ordered to be printed and published. He then proposed, that the armed force of Paris should be put upon its former footing, which was also decreed, and the mayor and national agent were held answerable for the tranquillity of Paris on pain of losing their heads.

After Vadier, Tallien, Billaud, Freron, Lacoste, Delmas, and others, had spoken more or less strongly upon the occurrences of the day, it was decreed, that the elder and younger Robespierres, St. Just, Couthon, and Lebas, all members of the convention, should be arrested, together with

with Nicholas, which they immediately were, and all their papers sealed up.

Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, seem to have been aware of the weight of the Anti-Robespierian party, and joined themselves to it in good time. That such important events should take place with any degree of tranquillity, can only be attributed to several members of the committee of public safety having joined in the business.

After the decree of arrest<sup>a</sup> was issued against Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, they were sent to the Luxembourg, but the administrator of the police there would not receive them as prisoners; they were then taken to the town-house, where they were received with open arms. Henriot, who was also arrested, found means to escape, and rode about the streets, at the head of some horse, and accompanied by all his adjutants, desiring the people to arm, for that Robespierre was arrested and liberty trodden under foot: he was believed by some, particularly the cannoneers, and between nine and ten, found himself at the head of 4000 men, on the Place du Caroufel. The Commune rang the tocsin, and the Place de Grave, was filled with armed men, and a number of pieces of cannon. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, with the Commune, formed themselves into a national convention, declared the other representatives of the people, traitors to the country, and outlawed them; sent circular letters to all the districts; appointed a revolutionary tribunal to condemn all those to death, who should oppose them, of which Dumas was made president. Sijas, Vivier, and others, sounded the alarm-bell at the Jacobin club, which also declared in favour of Robespierre; in a word, all Paris was in motion, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out.

The national convention, on their part, were not idle: Henriot, Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and all the members of the Commune were outlawed: a proclamation was published and read in all the districts of Paris, representing the danger the country was in, to the people. This had its effect, and the people declared for the convention. Part of the troops quitted Henriot, and twelve deputies were appointed to direct the military operations. Between two and three in the morning, Bourdon de l'Oise appeared upon the Place de Grave, and read the decrees of the convention to the people, and flew, with a sabre between his teeth, and a pistol in each hand, to the hall of the Commune, at the head of some resolute men. This bold proceeding confused the mutineers; Robespierre was wounded with a pistol

on



on the cluin; his brother jumped out of the window, and broke his leg and arm; Couthon stabbed himself twice; and one Coffinal, a member of the commune, enraged that Henriot (who had declared upon forfeiture of his head, that all Paris was in their favour) had deceived them, absolutely threw that traitor out of the window, who, thus bruised and wounded, found means to hide himself in a sewer, from whence he was afterwards dragged, so covered with blood and dirt, that it was scarcely possible to recognize him.

The town-house was so surrounded, that none of the mutineers could escape, and they were all sent to the committee of public safety. La Gendre did the same at the Jacobin club, as Bourdon de l'Oise had done at the town-house; he was going to shoot the president, but fearful lest he might miss his aim, or hit some one else, he only arrested him, shut up the club, and took the keys to the convention. At break of day the tumult was over.

On the following day between six and seven in the evening, twenty-two of the mutineers received punishment amidst an innumerable crowd of people of both sexes, crying out, *Long live the Republic! Down with the Tyrant! Down with the Cromwell!* Couthon was guillotined first, then the youngest Robespierre, and next Henriot. Robespierre himself was the last but one. The applauses and cries were doubled, when he ascended the scaffold, where he stood two minutes, whilst the executioner took off the cloth which covered his wounded face. He did not say a word, but died like one conscious of the most atrocious crimes\*. The heads of Robespierre, Henriot, Dumas, &c. were thrown to the people, who expressed their joy at their suffering.

The persons guillotined on this occasion, were the following; Maximilian Robespierre, thirty-six years old, a native of Arras; George Couthon, thirty-eight years old, born at Orsay; A. St. Just, 26 years of age, a native of Lisere; A. Robespierre, a younger brother of the above Maximilian; F. Henriot, commander in chief of the armed force at Paris; L. Lavalette, ex-noble, born at Paris, commander of a battalion of national guards, late a brigadier-general in the northern army; R. Dumas, thirty-seven years old, born at Luffy, formerly a lawyer at Lyon-

The following anecdote attending the execution of Robespierre, deserves to be mentioned: When the steel of the guillotine had struck off his head, a loud voice was heard to exclaim, *ENCORE*. The executioner immediately seized the head, as if he meant to repeat the operation.

le-Saunier, and late president of the revolutionary tribunal ; J. R. Leseot Fleuriot, thirty-nine years old, mayor of Paris ; C. F. Payan, twenty-seven years of age, a jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal, and national guard of Paris ; N. Viviers, fifty years old, judge of the criminal tribunal, of the department, and president of the Jacobin club.

Robespierre was born at Arras, the capital of Artois.

He was nephew to Damien, who was broken A. D. 1757. on the wheel, for attempting to assassinate

Louis XV. He is stated to have been in so low a situation, as porter in a shop in Dublin ; but returning to France, he began the profession of the law, which he practised in Paris, with all the respectability of a pettifogger in England : his versatile genius, desperate ambition, and unprincipled nature, directed his practice to enormities which filled his purse, and increased his infamy. In this profession he took the advantage of substituting his own name instead of that of the legatee, in a will ; for this malpractice he was sent to prison, where he is said to have commenced his first acquaintance with Marat.

Possessing no passions which he could not controul, he was always sufficiently collected to take advantage of those of others, except when hope left him no prospect of success but from desperation. It was his aim to deceive all, and be duped by none : his friendship was to direct the acts of others to his own advantage ; and his enmity was more excited against those to whom he owed the greatest obligations, than to his real and avowed opponents. Those who could no longer serve him, fell the victims of his ingratitude and disappoinment : such as he dreaded, he tried to delude into a confidence of his virtue ; but his most open and inveterate foes escaped his vengeance by his not daring to lead them to sacrifice. He coalesced with every person that could aid his designs, and whose confidence he could obtain ; but he retained more in his service by fear, than by friendship. The most intimate of his associates, were the most jealous and suspicious of his principles : he owed his rise more to the error of popular opinion, than to any brilliancy of talent. His ambition began to pourtray itself, when he said, in 1784, that he wished to become Procureur-General of the parliament of Paris, that he might excite public attention. In this situation, he saw the means of gratifying his insatiable thirst of fame. With this motive he seems to have entered the States General : here he is stated to have appeared a silly demoniac, and to have excited a general contempt of his talents.

Unaf-

Unassuming in success, simple in manners, and moderate in his living, he appeared incorruptible to the people. By the transgressions of others he justified himself: whatever he determined to perpetrate, his pretence and excuse were founded on some plea of necessity, arising from a violence he would oppose, or an injury he would avert. A stranger to humanity he never pardoned; but always punished without remorse. His ferocity and sanguinary disposition, rendered him capable of every social outrage. His temper, aided by Marat, and afterwards by Barrere, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas, impelled him to invite the populace, whom he governed, to incessant pillage and murder. Like the common robbers of the woods and forests in France, he first took the lives, that he might afterwards despoil his victims.

Having established a considerable influence in the Jacobin club, his power was proportionably increased in the constituent assembly, and the commune, or common council of Paris. He thus laid the basis of his dictatorial structure on the ruins of his country's life, liberty, and property. The Jacobins, blindly impelled by his factious principles, usurped the powers of the national representatives, and rendered them, for a considerable time, incapable of effective resistance. To preserve his influence, he caused his partisans to drown, with their clamours, every argument opposed to his sentiments. By this means, those who might have saved the country, by displaying his vile designs, were obliged to leave the tribunal, to such as were more inclined to praise than censure his actions.

Becoming a favourite and prime minister of M. Egalité, he was supplied with the means of supporting his influence among the Jacobins, by rewarding his mercenaries with money taken from the coffers of his unprincipled patron. He was employed by Egalité in most of his meditated designs upon the government and royal family. Such zeal and abilities he displayed for intrigue, that he won the entire confidence of his employer. By his order, rumour has stated, that he gave poison to the prince de Lamballe, and that he afterwards *forged a will* for the dead prince, by which his highness became heir to the Lamballe family possessions. But these were trifling villainies compared with those to which he was instigated by Egalité\*.

Robe-

\* The following anecdote is related of the infamous and detestable monster Egalité. A little spaniel, big with puppies, left her nat in the corner of the chamber, and came towards his highness, with all the at-

Robespierre was short in stature, being only five feet, two or three inches in height: his step was firm; and his quick pace in walking, announced great activity. By a kind of contraction of the nerves, he used often to fold and compress his hands in each other, and spasmodic contractions were perceived in his shoulders and neck, the latter of which he moved convulsively from side to side.

In his dress he was neat, and even elegant, never failing to have his hair in the best order. His features had nothing remarkable about them, unless that their general aspect was somewhat forbidding: his complexion was livid and bilious; his eyes dull and sunk in their sockets. The constant blinking of the eye-lids seemed to arise from convulsive agitation; and he was never without a remedy in his pocket. He could soften his voice, which was naturally harsh and croaking, and could give grace to his provincial accent. It was remarked of him, that he could never look

attachment of the most faithful and affectionate of animals. She crept, licked his feet, and offered him every sign of fondness, of which her nature was capable. In her ardency of love, the poor creature raised itself, and dirtied his white stockings. With the most savage indifference to the pleadings of humanity, he took the poor animal and dropped it from the window, on the iron spikes of the railing before his door. While she was dying in the greatest anguish, he is said to have called to the creature in those words and accents of invitation, which are used when such animals are wanted to approach us. For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped this anecdote is a fiction; if it be true, it can only be said, that it is an act which could only be committed by a man, who effected the murder of his royal cousin, attempted adultery with his queen, and hired assassins to murder all those who obstructed his progress to sovereign usurpation. The following traits of such a composition of vice, folly, cruelty, and debauchery, not being generally known, may be acceptable to many. He affected the appearance of every superficial accomplishment, without possessing a single essential quality, to constitute either the man of worth, or elegant courier. Polite in exterior, he devoted himself to every art that could raise his consequence, or administer to his pleasures. Content with the appearance of a gentleman, he had no regard for any worth deserving respectability. To win the praise of this country, he affected our manners, without imitating any virtue we may possess. Profuse without generosity, lewd without attachment, debauched without gratification, splendid without respect, and savage without remorse, he lived a perpetual satire upon men of courts, of title, and of fortune. With no talent or discretion, his life was devoted to intrigue. Affecting to be a politician, he was always the dupe of his own opinion, and at last the victim of his execrable designs. Extravagantly fond of praise, he patronized the vilest and lowest sycophants. Narrow in his views, he perpetually deluded himself with the hope of possessing what his nature could never enjoy, nor his spirit achieve. Without genius, courage, or temper, he formed plans which exposed him to ridicule, exhausted his finances; and, at last terminated his life with the ignominy of a tyrant, savage, and would-be usurper.

a man

a man full in the face. He was master of the talent of declamation, and as a public speaker, was not amiss at composition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antithesis*; but failed whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harsh, at others harmoniously modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and blended with common place digressions on *virtue*, *crimes*, and *conspiracies*. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator: his logic was replete with sophisms and subtilties; but he was in general sterile of ideas, with but a very limited scope of thought, as is almost always the case with those who are too much taken up with themselves.

Pride formed the basis of his character, and he had a great thirst for literary, but a still greater for political fame. He spoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet above Mr. Pitt he could see nobody unless himself. The reproaches of the English journalists, were a high treat to his vanity; whenever he denounced them, his action and expression betrayed how much his self-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the armies of Robespierre; and he was charmed with being included in the list of tyrants. Daring and cowardly at the same time, he threw a veil over his manœuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims.

If one of the representatives made a motion which displeased him, he suddenly turned round towards him, and eyed him with a menacing aspect for some minutes. Weak and revengeful, sober and sensual, chaste by temperament, and a libertine by the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them imprisoned for the sole pleasure of restoring to them their liberty. He made them shed tears to wipe them from their cheeks. In practising his delusions, it was his particular aim, to act upon tender and weak minds: he spared the priests, because they could forward his plans; and the superstitious and devotees, because he could convert them into instruments to favour his power.

His stile and expression were in a manner mystical; and next to pride, subtlety was the most marked feature of his character. He was surrounded by those only, whose conduct had been highly criminal, because he could with one word deliver them over to the punishment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the convention: he converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes: he dreaded even the shades of the martyrs of liberty, whose in-

fluence he weakened, by substituting his own : he was so extremely suspicious and distrustful, that he could have found it in his heart to *guillotine* the dead themselves.

To enter into a strict analysis of his character, Robespierre, born without genius, could not create circumstances, but profited by them with address. To the profound hypocrisy of Cromwel, he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without possessing any of the great military and political qualities of either of these ambitious adventurers : his pride and his ambition, far above his merits, exposed him to ridicule. To observe the emphasis with which he boasted of having proclaimed the existence of a Supreme Being, one might have said, that according to his opinion, God would not have existed without him.

When on the night of the 27th of July, he found himself abandoned by his friends, he discharged a pistol in his mouth, and at the same time, a *gens d'arms* wounded him by the discharge of another. Robespierre fell bathed in blood ; and a *Sans Culotte* approaching him, very coolly pronounced these words in his ear, "*There exists a Supreme Being* \*."

What the ultimate views of Robespierre, with his creatures or associates were, or whether he had any fixed and determinate plan at all, farther than the immediate gratification of an intriguing and restless disposition, incapable of copartnership or moderation, cannot yet be certainly known †. Some have thought that it was his design to bring the dauphin out of confinement, and, in his person, to restore monarchy. But Robespierre was generally considered as a determined fanatic : nor could he have any reasonable hope, in the actual temper of the nation, and under the new division of property, of being able to carry that plan into execution. On the other hand, if he reflected at all on the inveterate passion for liberty that had pervaded all France, and discomfited so many attempts to restore monarchical government, he could not suppose that the French nation could brook tyranny in the person of an upstart dictator : a dictator unadorned with the splendor of military achievements, and sullied, in public opinion at least, by that littleness and chicane, which are ascribed to the profession of the law in every nation of Europe.

As several patriots had been put under arrest by Robespierre, his plan seems to have been to get rid of all, whose

\* Il-y-a un Etre Suprême.

† It was said by Cromwel, or of Cromwel, that a man never mounted higher than when he knew not whither he was going,

abilities or virtues stood the least in his way, and then to form a triumvirate with the blood thirsty Couthon, and the ambitious St. Just. "These men," said a member of the convention, "wished to form a triumvirate, which would recall the bloody proscriptions of Sylla; the triumvirs would have been Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon. The last is a tyger, who thirsts for the blood of the national representatives." He has dared, as a royal pastime, to speak in the club of the Jacobins, of cutting off five or six heads at a time." "Yes, Yes!" resounded from all parts, "he would have made use of our carcasses, as so many steps to mount the throne." Barrere's sentiments with regard to this matter, are as follow: "I come," said he, from the committee of public safety, to declare that the conspiracy has not altered the social organization for a moment; that this partial commotion has left the government entire with respect to all political, administrative, and revolutionary operations, both at home and abroad. The conspirators never did any thing towards the organization, or the action of government. It is a fact of which too many citizens are ignorant, that proud of their reputation for patriotism, they despised the man of business, disdained the obscure functions of labour, and carried their aristocracy to such a pitch, as to think themselves above serving their country. St. Just and Robespierre absented themselves from the constant and daily business by which a state is governed, without feeling that it is so. They found us vulgar enough to attempt saving our country in detail: for themselves they reserved the pride and the luxury of governing. They attended only to a part of the general police, especially organized by themselves, and for themselves. The revolutionary government, and the executive commissions, were organized contrary to their wishes; and when they saw that we were determined to put the republican government into form, all the part they took in it was to fill the commissions with as many of their creatures as they could put in. Thus, while we were honestly composing executive commissions, St. Just and Robespierre, rejecting the choice of persons made by you, imposed upon us persons whom they intended to make the instruments of their abominable plan. The Brissotines trusted to their power in the departments; Robespierre trusted to rule by the force of the centre of the republic, although he had also endeavoured to gain over several of the departments. Henriot had made oath to the

"new triumvirate, that he would answer with his life for the success of the plan. The failure of his promises, enraged his accomplices. Coffinhal, one of the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, after fiercely reproaching him with having ruined them all, threw Henriot out of one of the windows of the commune. On the proposition of Dumas, the committee of execution at the commune, of which Simon was president, had ordered that the General d'Armerie should be shot, as well as the members of the revolutionary tribunal, and a certain number of the convention. The republic was parcelled out among the triumvirate and the commune. St. Just was to go with full powers to the army of the north; Couthon and Robespierre the younger, to the armies of the south; Robespierre the elder was to reign at Paris. A vast number of counter-revolutionary papers were circulated in the departments. Of all these facts we have proofs."

But whatever might be the views of Robespierre, the catastrophe that involved his fate, with that of his partisans, is a most copious subject of reflection moral and political.

1. Among the features that disfigure the French revolution, and consequently the national character of the French, from whose minds and tempers the revolution directly springs, is this, that in their internal dissensions and contests, there is no gradation in punishment, no moderation in victory. *Death* is awarded to every crime, proved or suspected; the political partisan is to be appeased only by the death of his adversary\*. How many individuals have fallen sacrifices, not to crimes, not to venial transgressions, not to flight and unfounded suspicions, but to their very virtues.
2. How fluctuating is popular favour, and on what trivial circumstances, and unknown variations in the humours of men, do great affairs depend? The commune of Paris, the armed force of Paris, the Jacobin club at Paris, ramified into every part of France, and hitherto the arbiters of the public councils and fortune, were all on the side of Robespierre. But a spirit of bold patriotism was quickly spread by powerful sympathy from certain individuals in the national convention throughout all classes in Paris. A force was quickly provided for guarding the national convention from violence; the courage and firmness of the Parisian guards were not to be rallied by the intrepid orator.

\* This consideration by the way, may have been that which determined Robespierre to pursue his opponents in the convention even to death. The party of Tallien, he might suppose, would be satisfied only with his death. He meant to strike the first blow.



torv, and example of *Henriot*; the commune of Paris, which had at first promised an asylum to Robespierre, tamely gave him up; the municipality and the sections of Paris, congratulated the convention on his arrest, and all the people expressed immoderate joy at the execution of him, who, but a few days before, had been their idol. But, had the Commune of Paris, and the municipal guards, been firm to their engagements, the convention might have been surrounded before they had time to strike a blow. The courage of that assembly might have been cast down, and that of the Jacobins proportionably exalted. The fate of France hung in suspense on the question, who should strike the first blow; and was to be determined by the toss-up of a halfpenny. It was perhaps owing to the confidence they placed in the Jacobins, and the municipality of Paris, that Robespierre, his brother, Couthon, St. Just, and others, behaved with such undaunted courage, when Robespierre was denounced in the convention. 4. That which chiefly interests us, and all neighbouring nations in the late catastrophe at Paris, is its political consequences. We in Britain have not, perhaps, been fully sensible, how general the spirit of liberty had become in France, and how deeply rooted. We have been prone to hope, that the cause of monarchy would draw some advantage from the prevalence of certain men and sets of men, and the fall of others. Various ups and downs, however, of this kind have taken place; and still the French go on in their wild career. We are apt to look at men and personal influence; the French, to principles, to freedom, to the establishment of a republic. Even if Robespierre and his faction had gained the advantage over the convention, it is not probable that their ascendancy would have been lasting; though they might have bound the nation in fetters for a time, and prepared the way for various events, never now to happen. By the overthrow of that faction which aimed to give law to the convention, the authority of that assembly will be confirmed; and the tide of affairs will flow more and more in the channel of republicanism. Tallien may undergo the fate of Danton and Robespierre, but other heads will spring up; and thus, this turbulent state may be continued for a time, at least, amidst death and disaster, in various forms.

Every day brought to light some new atrocity committed by Robespierre, who had placed his creatures in all departments, and particularly in the revolutionary tribunal. This gave rise to the arrest of the judges and juries of that tribunal, which was re-organized.

The

The convention decreed, that one fourth of the members of all the committees, without distinction, should be renewed monthly, and then proceeded by public vote, to complete the committee of public welfare. The new members are, Eschareau the elder, Breard la Loi, Thuriot, Treillard, and Tallien. The old ones are, Carnot, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varannes, Prieur de la Cote d'Or, and Robert Lindet.

These important regulations of the Paris committees, seem to promise a correction of the powers usurped in favour of tyranny, and a restoration of the legislative independence of the convention. The committee of public safety, now called **THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT**, by being renewed every month, and its members not eligible until after the interval of another month, must operate as a check on those who would attempt to abuse the powers with which they are invested. Permanent committees are ever attended with the greatest dangers to the persons and liberties of a people. To this may be ascribed the destruction of Roman and Grecian liberty, as well as the dreadful and enormous sacrifices that have indelibly stained the tribunals of France. There is, consequently, no part of political organization which requires more the watchful jealousy of a people, than that of preventing any delegated power being perpetuated.

On the 10th of August, the ci-devant ministers Paré and Desforques, the national deputy Neufchateau, who had been under arrest about twelve months, the actors of the *Theatre Française*, and seven hundred other prisoners, were all set at liberty. One hundred prisoners were also released from their confinement in the prison of the Luxembourg. Tallien, the conqueror of Robespierre, came to deliver them. Noisy and vociferous as the people used to be, when whole groupes of men were guillotined; as heartily and loudly did they rejoice, at seeing these unfortunate men released. When Tallien went to the Luxembourg, to announce to the prisoners their deliverance, vast crowds of people accompanied him, loaded him with blessings, and *embraced both him and the released prisoners*. Tears of joy gushed from the eyes of all persons present. Only seven of the whole number of prisoners, who were real criminals, were left to suffer death. All the other prisoners confined in that prison, and now released, were marked on the death or prescription list of the sanguinary Robespierre, and were to have been sent before the revolutionary tribunal.

After the execution of Robespierre, the Abbé Syeyes trans-

transmitted a memorial to the committee of public safety, in which he declared that the revolution was to be looked upon *as not having commenced*, in reality, before that period.

Some time prior to this, James Monroe was admitted in great state, to deliver his credentials as ambassador from America to the French republic. He produced credentials from Washington, and the secretary of state, declaring the good wishes of the president and senate of America; the former of whom concludes his letter with praying God to have the *French republic in his holy keeping*. America having thus deputed a minister plenipotentiary to France, evinces her attachment and anxiety to connect herself more closely, with that country. This disposition, the ministers of Great Britain should observe with the greatest vigilance. This opens to the mind of the politician an ample field for speculation, in which the views of America seem to be extended beyond the cultivation of her own territories, the establishment of her infant manufactures, and the cherishing of her rising resources. Time will evince how far her policy has been prudent.

The president of the national convention thus addressed the American minister: "The French people have not forgotten, that it is to the American people they owe the beginning of liberty. It was by admiring the *sublime insurrection* of the American people against Albion; it was by taking arms themselves to second the courageous efforts of that insurrection; it was by cementing the independence of America, with the blood of their bravest warriors, that the French people learned to break the sceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the statue of liberty on the ruins of a throne, founded on fourteen centuries of corruption and crimes.

"How then should they not be friends? How should they not be associated by reciprocal means of prosperity, which commerce and navigation present to two nations become free by mutual aid? But this is not an alliance purely diplomatic; it is the sweetest, the frankest fraternity that ought to unite them; it is this fraternity that unites them in effect, and the union will be for ever indissoluble, as it will be for ever the scourge of despots, the safeguard of the liberty of the world, the conservation of all the social and philanthropic virtues.

"In bringing us this pledge of this union so dear to us, you cannot fail to be received with the most lively interest. Five years ago, the usurper of the sovereignty of the people

“people would have received you with the pride which  
 “befits only vice; and he would have thought that he did  
 “much in granting to the minister of a free nation some  
 “marks of his insolent protection. To-day, it is the sove-  
 “reign people, represented by faithful mandatories, that re-  
 “ceives you; and you see with what tenderness, what ef-  
 “fusion of heart, this simple and touching ceremony is ac-  
 “companied. Let me not delay to crown it by the frater-  
 “nal embrace which I am charged to give you in the name  
 “of the French people! Come and receive it in the  
 “name of the American people! And may this picture  
 “complete destroying the last hope of the impious coalition  
 “of tyrants!”

The whole assembly rose up with one emotion and ex-  
 claimed, *Vive la Republique!*

The minister of the United States was conducted to the  
 president of the convention, who gave him the fraternal  
 embrace. He then took his seat among the representatives  
 of the people, who redoubled their acclamations. Mons  
 Bayle moved, that, in order to consecrate the fraternity  
 which ought to exist between the two greatest republics of  
 the two worlds, an American and a French flag should be  
 united, and hung up in the place of their sitting, as a sign of  
 eternal amity and alliance; which was decreed with unani-  
 mous applause.

Towards the end of July, a dreadful fire broke out at  
 Ratcliffe Highway, about a mile below the Tower, which  
 consumed more houses than any one conflagration has  
 done, since the great fire of London. It began at Mr.  
 Cloves's barge-builder, at Cock-hill, near Ratcliffe, about  
 three o'clock in the afternoon; and it was occasioned by  
 the boiling over of a pitch-kettle that stood under his ware-  
 house, which was consumed in a very short time. It then  
 communicated to a barge, it being low water, lying adjoining  
 to the premises, laden with salt-petre and other stores.  
 This caused the conflagration to spread widely in a short  
 time. Several other vessels and small crafts lying near the  
 barge, soon after took fire, without any possibility of getting  
 them off. The blowing up of the salt-petre from the barge  
 occasioned large flakes of fire to fall on the warehouses be-  
 longing to the East India Company, from whence the salt-  
 petre was removing to the Tower (twenty tons of which  
 had been fortunately moved the preceding day). The  
 flames soon caught the warehouses, and here the scene  
 became dreadful; all these buildings were consumed, with  
 all their contents, to a great amount. The wind blowing

strong from the south, and the High-street of Ratcliffe being narrow, both sides caught fire, which prevented the engines from being of any essential service; and, in the course of the evening, it extended itself to the premises of Mr. Joseph Hanks, timber merchant, in London-street, where it again raged most furiously, and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the west and part of the east-side of which was consumed. The fire then took its course up Brook-street, Stepney Causeway, caught the premises of Mr. Shakespeare, rope-maker, and burnt through to the fields on the one side, and the whole of the dwellings on the other; forming altogether a square of great extent. What is very remarkable the dwelling-house of Mr. Bear, an extensive building, although surrounded by the flames, was fortunately preserved without the least injury.

A survey was soon after taken by the warden and officers of the hamlet, whose report was, "That out of one thousand two hundred houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than five hundred and seventy were preserved from the general conflagration." It having been reported that the fire was maliciously occasioned, upon the most minute inquiry, it is clearly ascertained that it was entirely accidental, from the cause abovementioned. It raged with too much violence, that it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Cloves and his servants escaped, one of whom was terribly burnt, and is now in the London hospital; and Mr. Cloves himself had his arm broke, and is otherwise much hurt. From the great distress the fire occasioned to a number of poor families, government immediately ordered one hundred and twenty tents to be immediately pitched for their accommodation in Stepney-fields till they could be more comfortably provided for. That some idea may be formed of the very great loss sustained by this unfortunate event, the warehouses of Mr. Whiting contained 'sugars to the amount of upwards of 40,000*l.* which were entirely destroyed. The distress of the miserable inhabitants exceeded all description. In the surrounding fields were deposited the few goods, consisting chiefly of bedding, they were able to save. Stepney church was opened for their reception, and above a thousand people were obliged to remain all night in the fields, watching the remnant of their property.—Children crying for their lost parents, and parents lamenting the fate of their children, added to the horrors of a scene not equalled during the present century.

Much about the same time, great riots disturbed the tranquillity of the metropolis. It had been discovered, that the  
people

people employed in kidnapping men to recruit the army had been guilty of many acts of shocking oppression and barbarity. One poor wretch confined in a lock-up house, threw himself from a window, and was dashed to pieces. Other acts of cruelty were brought to light, and made known to the mob, who vented their fury by destroying the furniture of many public houses where the recruiting business was carried on. The commotions upon this occasion gave serious alarm to government. Six regiments of cavalry were ordered to take post on the borders of the town; and the lord mayor circulated a printed request, that children and servants might be prevented from appearing in the streets at night. Many of the rioters were apprehended. The gentlemen of the association for preserving the peace of the city of London paraded the streets every evening as a corps of observation; and tranquillity, in a short time, was restored to the town and its environs.

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## C H A P. XXIX.

*Prince de Cobourg's Address to the Germans.—Prince of Orange's Proposition to the States General.—British Army.—Head Quarters of the Prince of Orange.—Prince of Saxe-Cobourg's Farewell Address to the Army.—British Commissioners sent to the Court of Vienna.—Imperial Army.—Surrender of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Condé announced.—The Telegraph.—Surrender of Sluys.—Estimate of the French Armies.—Affairs of Spain.—Watt found guilty of High Treason.*

THE Imperial and Prussian armies having abandoned all offensive operations on the left bank of the Rhine, and concentrated their force to defend Mentz and Mannheim, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, as the last effort, to rouse the Germans to a sense of their dangers, published on the 30th of July, from his head quarters at Foron le Comte, the following address; in which the spirit of the soldier and the integrity of the man, are most eminently displayed. "German brothers and friends, our valorous  
"armies have just quitted the fertile plains, in which they  
"have

“ have sustained the most severe combats during three  
“ bloody campaigns, for the preservation of your property,  
“ the repose of your lives, the security of your fields, the  
“ maintenance of your religion, the happiness of your  
“ children, the riches of your flourishing provinces, and  
“ to save those provinces from ruin and complete annihilation. Plains in which they maintained, at the expense  
“ of their blood, which has flowed for three successive  
“ years, the glory of their arms, by the generous sacrifice  
“ of their lives, and of their means; while they sacrificed  
“ those dearest ties which attach men of distant nations,  
“ not less than yourselves, to their homes, and to their  
“ country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the  
“ domestic happiness they had a right to expect.

“ The inexhaustible resources of a nation in a state of  
“ furor, which sports with the life and happiness of man,  
“ with religion, with the duties, with the bands of civil  
“ society; its innumerable cohorts, which are led to  
“ slaughter by their tyrants, and who, by lavishing their  
“ blood, purchase the fleeting shadow of an imaginary  
“ liberty; the inactivity of a blinded people, who would  
“ not listen to the approach of danger any more than to  
“ the paternal voice of their good prince; the secret practices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of  
“ several of their ambitious representatives, men in whom  
“ this very people see, now too late, and abhor the authors  
“ of their unbounded and unending misery. All these  
“ causes have forced our armies to retreat to your frontiers.

“ It is there that they are now posted, weakened, but  
“ not vanquished; fatigued by an unequal contest, but  
“ not humbled by discouragement, nor subdued by despair.  
“ It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall  
“ of defence for their Germanic liberty; to act as a rampart for your religion, your laws, and your families.  
“ The Meuse is the line of separation between the total  
“ loss and the preservation, between the overthrow and  
“ the maintenance of all these; between misery and happiness. Rise, then, German brothers and friends! On  
“ you will depend the making it possible for your deliverers to live or die for your defence. I, myself a  
“ German prince, full of solicitude, not less for the safety  
“ of my country than the preservation of my warriors—  
“ I call upon you. Procure us subsistence, bring us provisions from your magazines. Think that in forwarding to us these painful succours, you secure at the same  
“ time

“ time your approaching harvest—Share with us your  
 “ savings—To obtain what we want, employ the trea-  
 “ sures of your churches. Give your utensils and vases  
 “ of silver to the emperor, for the pay of your defenders.  
 “ You will receive receipts for the re-payment in due  
 “ form, and you will be paid interest for the pecuniary aids  
 “ you have thus procured. Replace the resources of Bel-  
 “ gium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow  
 “ for our enemies. Nurse and relieve, with a solicitude  
 “ full of charity, our sick and wounded!

“ Rise, courageous inhabitants of the fair countries of  
 “ the Rhine and the Moselle! Arm yourselves, ye va-  
 “ lorous men! Line your rivers and your defiles! Ac-  
 “ company our convoys! Watch over our magazines!  
 “ Rise by thousands, and fight with us for your altars, for  
 “ your habitations, for your emperor, for your liberty!  
 “ We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your coun-  
 “ try! We will not depopulate your provinces; but  
 “ you will secure the positions at our backs, and you will  
 “ guard your own confines. Assuredly, German citizens,  
 “ we are not deceived with respect to you; we have re-  
 “ posed our confidence in the good sense of Germans;  
 “ we trust to the hearts and the blood of the German na-  
 “ tion. For three years your emperor has borne the  
 “ heavy burthen, and distant nations have fought for your  
 “ defence. You, yourselves, must see that your turn to  
 “ take arms is now come. Then I, as commander in  
 “ chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army,  
 “ promise in the name of my troops—to spare you, we  
 “ will observe a rigorous discipline; for your happiness,  
 “ we will shed the last drop of our blood; as we have  
 “ fought for you, we will die for you; and never shall  
 “ the free, the happy Germany, bow down her head be-  
 “ neath the steel of the guillotine.—Never shall her  
 “ peaceful inhabitants exchange their generous morals,  
 “ their tranquil simplicity, their guardian laws of property,  
 “ their consoling religion, for the licentiousness, the ca-  
 “ lumniating spirit, the realized system of spoil, the incre-  
 “ dulity, imposed by force, of the French.

“ But if, on the other hand, you should be so unfor-  
 “ tunate, like those inhabitants of the Belgic provinces,  
 “ who now groan in the bosom of calamity, deprived of  
 “ their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to suf-  
 “ fer yourselves to be misled by secret seducers, we shall  
 “ find ourselves obliged to pass the Rhine, to leave you a  
 “ prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, with-

“ out



“out ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among you for their subsistence.”

The Prince of Orange having assisted at the assembly of the States-General, on the 4th and 5th of August, made the following proposition; which shews with what energy the Dutch can prepare to defend themselves when they find their country in imminent danger. Had they entered upon the war with the same ardour, their situation would not have required such extraordinary efforts.

“High and Mighty Lords, on the 14th of last month, I laid before the assembly of your High Mightinesses, my true sentiments on the present situation of the affairs of this republic, relative to the approach of the enemy towards our frontiers. I protested, from the bottom of my heart, that I was ready to sacrifice all for its defence. I considered saving the state as very possible, if redoubling courage and firmness, and relying on the divine assistance, we employed the means in our hands. Finally, I considered the neglect of those means, and all unseasonable fears, as what would most readily lead to the ruin of our country. Your High Mightinesses, and the states of some provinces, have already made a public declaration that these sentiments are your own, and protested the most zealous good will to assist in taking the most efficacious measures in support of the common cause; I am well assured that the states of all the provinces will manifest the same promptitude as soon as their convocation shall enable them to come to resolutions on the subject.

“In the mean time, your High Mightinesses, and all the colleagues and departments that could contribute to the means of defence, have not been idle. There has been much activity in providing the fortresses, in filling the magazines, and in hastening the equipment of vessels for the protection of our rivers. But, however necessary, however useful, all these measures may be in themselves, it appears to me that there are two principal objects besides, belonging to a complete defence, and for which provision cannot be made, but by grand measures employed in concert; viz. by money and by troops.

“War, I own, is expensive; the present is more so than any hitherto waged: but it differs also in its nature from all preceding wars, because we have to deal with an enemy who have recourse to means hitherto unknown, and who reckon as nothing the loss of their colonies, of their commerce, their agriculture, and all

the post of Gille, occupied by light dragoons, who were compelled to fall back. The French advanced to within about three miles of Breda, when they were obliged in the end to retire.

On the 28th, about twelve o'clock at night, an order was received in the camp for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice; the tents were accordingly struck, and they marched a little before three. This order was in consequence of a council of war, which had been held a few hours before at the head-quarters at Oosterhout. Information had been received that the enemy had made a movement towards the left of the army, and intended, if possible, to cut off their retreat towards Bois-le-Duc. As they were not molested on their march, the army were encamped on a large common, within three miles of that place, about four o'clock in the afternoon. On their leaving the ground near Breda, between six and seven thousand Dutch, who were encamped on the other side of the town, immediately marched into it.

The head-quarters of the hereditary Prince of Orange were now also removed from Breda to the neighbourhood of Raamsdonk. On the 29th, a large train of waggons, cannon, and ammunition, passed through that town from Gertruydenberg. Of this change of position, the prince sent the following notice to the *Statés-Generaux*.

"High and Mighty Lords, the Duke of York having last night proceeded with his army towards Bois-de-Duc, I also left my position this day; and, having left the garrison in Breda, have proceeded hither. With the remaining troops I have fortified the intrenchments of Wispie, Gertruydenberg, Zand-au-dchours, Sevenbergen, and Steenberg with the outer posts. Nothing of any moment has occurred with the army of the states."

The Duke of York, the hereditary Prince of Orange, and general Beaulieu, held a council of war at Bois-le-Duc, on the 1st of September, which lasted for upwards of four hours. A pontoon bridge was soon after laid over the Meuse at Grave, to be in readiness for the army, in case the enemy should advance; and then it was determined that a position should be taken up near Nimeguen, on the left bank of the Waal.

On the evening of the 14th, a very severe engagement took place at some distance from Bois-le-Duc, near Boxtel, between the British army encamped behind the Dommel, and the French troops which had proceeded into the majority. A very heavy firing was kept up till late at night,  
when.

when the British retreated to Gestel, where they were again attacked at five in the morning, and a most obstinate conflict ensued, with a considerable loss on both sides. The firing, both of the artillery and musketry, was kept up till noon, when the British were forced to abandon their position, and to retreat to Schyndel; the British army having concentrated itself, seemed resolved to maintain its posts at Dinter and in the environs; and it was thought a third action would immediately take place. In the interim, the troops having returned from Bois-le-Duc, that city was exposed to a sudden attack. On these disastrous occasions the villages of Boxtel and Gestel suffered considerably; a part of the former was burnt, and the rest plundered and ravaged. The Duke of York's retreat to Grave left an opening between Breda and Bois-le-Duc, through which an enemy, less daring than the French, might penetrate into Holland, by passing the Meuse near Bommel, where the river is fordable.

An Imperial decree now required the states of the empire to take into immediate consideration, the vigorous measures necessary to be taken in order to continue the war. It demanded as an indispensable necessity, that the forces of the German empire should be increased to five times the common contingent. It further expressed, that since the decree of the empire of January last, an augmentation of the forces of the empire was become more necessary, and more pressing, in consequence of violent and extraordinary measures adopted by the French, the invincibility of their arms, and the enthusiastic zeal they had acquired by great and repeated successes which they seemed to push to the utmost. "Let the German empire therefore," continued the emperor, "concentrate its forces, and with a patriotic union, oppose German courage and intrepidity, to an enemy who is grown powerful by superiority in numbers, and by propagating destructive principles. The proposal of a quintuple contingent cannot but be extremely painful to the tender and paternal feelings of his Imperial Majesty. But extraordinary and pressing circumstances require extraordinary and vigorous measures, and which, when the safety of all Germany is at a stake, cannot be looked upon as extravagant or unnecessary. His Imperial Majesty thinks himself obliged to declare, in case of a refusal of this measure on the part of the empire, that, for the future, it will be out of the power of his Imperial Majesty, without the co-operation of the states of the empire, any longer to continue in the active protection and defence

of Germany; considering the sacrifices his majesty had already made, during three campaigns, of men, and of so many millions of money, having exhausted his domestic means, and exceeded the limits of his capacity."

Meanwhile the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg set out for Vienna, after taking leave of the army by the following address: "His majesty having vouchsafed to comply with my most humble representation, by accepting my resignation of the command in chief of the army, which, my want of health, added to the weakness of my bodily frame, would not permit me any longer to hold; and this command having been immediately intrusted by his majesty to his excellency Monseigneur Count de Clairfayt, general of artillery, I take this mode to announce the above change in the army. At the same time, I avail myself of this opportunity to testify to all the generals and officers, as well as to the whole army in general, my strong regret at this separation. I beseech them to be convinced that my esteem for the troops who have manifested so much bravery, and my gratitude for their good will, their fidelity, and personal attachment, will be everlastingly and deeply impressed on my mind, as their recollection will be always dear to me.—My prayers for the success and glory of their arms will follow them everywhere; and though for the present I cease to be their chief and their guide, I shall never cease to admire their merits, to rejoice in their exploits, and to be proud of their friendship. I am persuaded that they will receive this expression of my sentiments, and the profusion of a heart deeply penetrated, and as the latest proof of my attachment and esteem."

After the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands by the French, the court of London became alarmed at the danger to which the Dutch provinces were exposed. They sent Earl Spenser and the honourable Thomas Grenville upon an extraordinary embassy to the court of Vienna. At the long conference held between the Prince of Rosenberg, Baron Thugut, and the British commissioners, there also attended the Count de Rasumoffky, ambassador from Russia, and the Prussian minister plenipotentiary, the Marquis de Luchefini. The motive for admitting the two last ministers, is involved in that impenetrable obscurity which marks the whole of the negotiation. It is conjectured that the Marquis de Luchefini persisted, in the name of his master, on the necessity of carrying on an offensive war to drive the French from the Pays Bas; and that the  
king

king was willing to employ twenty-five thousand men to defend the frontiers of Holland. This indeed his own interest must have disposed him to do, for the security of Prussian Gueldres. He wished, however, to negotiate for the maintenance of his troops, at the expence of the emperor, or of the court of London.

The dismissal of the prince of Cobourg from his command, is attributed to these commissioners who accused him with the loss of Flanders, by his precipitate retreat.

About this time accounts were received from Treves, at the head-quarters of the Imperial army, from the general of cavalry Baron de Blanckenstein, that the French had driven in his out-posts from Merzketchen as far as Consfarbroke, and those of the fortress of Luxembourg, from the post of Oëtringen, that they had pushed on to Gravenmachern, and, by consequence, on that side of the communication between Treves and Luxembourg. It was therefore resolved, in a council of war, as it was impracticable to defend, with nine battalions only, the extent of the left branch of the Higher Moselle, as far as Birkenfeldt, to maintain, as long as possible, the post of Treves, near Pellingen, with the three Imperial battalions there, and the two of Cologne. But the great superiority of the enemy's numbers, the vain hope of succour, and the express orders that were given, not entirely to sacrifice, in case of misfortune, the troops destined for the protection of Coblenz, determined the general to abandon the post of Treves. \* .

A French officer, who deserted to the camp of the Imperialists, was the first person that communicated the enemy's intention to seize upon Treves, a post admirably calculated for their advantage. Having made a feint towards Mannheim, the Field Marshal Mollendorff, was thereby completely deceived, and marched with the Prussian army to the neighbourhood of Oberstein. In consequence of an arrangement between Mollendorff and the Duke de Saxe Teschen, a body of eighteen thousand joined the Prussian army, to cover Mayence and Mannheim \*. In

\* Much about this time, Michaut, general in chief of the French army on the Rhine, by some means or other got into Mannheim, of which he took a view, supped, and slept in one of the principal inns there. On his departure, he gave a letter to one of the waiters; telling him a servant would call for it in the morning. After some time, nobody calling for the letter, it was opened, and contained the following words in French: "Citizens, Michaut, general of the Sans Culottes, "supped here last night, and was at the play at Mannheim."

the meantime the enemy marched in three columns, and thus made themselves masters of the place.

After they had been some days in possession of Treves, the French sent a strong body of troops towards Wislich to attack that post, which the corps of combined troops had been obliged to abandon. The Prussians, after having blown up the works on the side of the Moselle, quitted the post of Montreal, and proceeded towards the Hundsruok. The French established a municipality at Treves, but did not meddle with property, nor interfere with the religious worship of the inhabitants.

During the first week of September, the following return of the troops under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe Teschen, was given by himself. The army of the empire consisted of nine thousand, one hundred, and ninety horse, and fifty-five thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine foot; that of the Austrians of five thousand, three hundred, and eighty-three horse, and twenty four thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-three foot. In this statement, the corps of general Blankenstein, and the Prussian auxiliaries, under the Hereditary Prince of Hohenloe, were included; but the militia of Suabia, now almost wholly put upon the footing of the regulars, was not comprised in it. The Prussian army consisted altogether of sixteen regiments of infantry, eighty-five squadrons of horse of the first battalion of guards, one battalion of fusileers, and about one thousand six hundred artillery men. The whole combined force of the Rhine, therefore, consisted of about one hundred and fifty thousand men. This statement was printed by authority at Mentz.

On the 29th of August, Lecointre of Versailles, in concert with Tallien, Dubois Crance, and a few others, produced an accusation against seven members of the committee of public and general safety, namely, Barrere, Billaud de Varrennes, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, Vouland, and David. This produced a violent commotion in the convention, and, after a very warm debate, it was decreed, by a great majority, that the charges were unfounded, and that the assembly should pass to the order of the day. During the evening and the following night, the matter was agitated in the clubs and societies of Paris; and attempts were made to represent the above decree as an artifice of the majority to get rid of an accusation which they were afraid to meet.

The charge was contained in twenty-six articles, and amounted in fact to accusing them for not having sooner destroyed

destroyed Robespierre; and for having acted as the instruments of his despotism. Next day, an attempt was made to bring forward the same matter again, and to hear the proofs on both sides, in the face of the convention, as well for, as against the accused. After much wrangling, the convention decided, that the accusation and the proofs should be read. The charges were then brought forward, and discussed. Collot d'Herbois and some of the others spoke in their own defence; and after much agitation, the sittings closed with declaring the charge to be calumnious.

On the same day was announced to the convention, the surrender of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Condé, to the arms of the republic. "I take this opportunity," said Barrere, "of mentioning a new establishment made under the auspices of the national convention. It is a machine called a *Telegraphe*, by means of which the recapture of Quesnoy was communicated in Paris two days ago, within one hour after our troops entered the place. An ingenious mode invented for transmitting information by a particular language, which being repeated from distance to distance, by machines within four or five leagues of one another, and arriving in a very short space of time, does honour to the knowledge of the age; and its execution is your work.\* The trial of this invention was made last year, in presence of commissioners nominated by the convention. On a favourable report made by them, the committee took great pains to establish, by means of it, a communication between Paris, and the places on the frontiers of the north, beginning with Lille. Near a year was employed in collecting the necessary instruments, forming the establishment of the machines, and teaching persons the use of them. The service is now so far advanced, that we can write to Lille on all subjects, express whatever things we please, even proper names, and receive answers. This can be repeated several times in a day. These machines have the advantage of resisting all changes of the atmosphere, and intemperance of weather. The only interruption that can be given to their operation, is by very bad or cloudy weather, which prevents distant objects from being seen. It is easy to conceive what general advantages may be derived from machines of this kind, by establishing easy communications between the most distant parts of the republic. By this invention, distances of leagues vanish as it were, and correspondence is carried on, with the rapidity of light. It

“ is a mode which tends to consolidate the unity of the re-  
 “ public, by the intimate and quick connection which it  
 “ gives to all its parts. The greatest advantage in this cor-  
 “ respondence is, that when we please, what is communi-  
 “ cated, can be known only at the two extremities; so that  
 “ now the committee of public safety can correspond with  
 “ the representatives of the people at Lille, without any  
 “ person being acquainted with the subject. In case of a  
 “ siege, we could be informed of whatever passed in Lille,  
 “ and transmit to Lille the decrees of the convention, with-  
 “ out the enemy being able to discover, or prevent our cor-  
 “ respondence. Modern nations, by the discovery of printing,  
 “ of gun-powder, the mariner’s compass, and the language  
 “ of the telegraphic signs, have made to vanish the greatest  
 “ obstacles that opposed the civilization of man, and the  
 “ union of great republics. It is thus that the arts and sci-  
 “ ences assist liberty \*.”

Sluys,

\* The Marquis of Worcester, to whom the public are indebted for that noble work the Steam Engine, was the inventor of the Telegraphe. In a very curious and rare little book, written by that nobleman, in the year 1655 entitled, “ A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions as at present I can call to mind to have tried *and perfected*,” this method of visual correspondence is particularly mentioned.

Mons. De Lolme states his sentiments of the Telegraphe, as applying it to the purpose of conveying intelligence respecting the drawing of lotteries. “ The thought that occurred to me,” says he, “ was that of a contrivance, by which those horse and foot pigeons might have saved themselves a deal of trouble, and at the same time have conveyed the knowledge of the first drawn numbers to different parts of the town, with much more speed than it is possible for them to do, even if they were to employ real winged pigeons. The thought occurred to me as a mere joke with myself, which I never communicated, being unwilling to give a hint that might accidentally reach and assist some dishonest persons. However, I shall mention the contrivance now.—Being publicly expressed in a newspaper, it can do no hurt; because, if it serves as a bad hint to some, it also serves as a proper caution to others; and, at the same time, the description will enable the reader more readily to understand the explanation I intend to give in the issue, concerning the manner in which the knowledge of many ideas, and even of many express words, may be conveyed in about half an hour from Lille to Paris; that is, to the distance of an hundred and twenty miles.

“ The contrivance I meant for speedy conveying to the farthest end of Oxford-road, the knowledge of a number just drawn at Guildhall, was this:—A garret should have been hired in some house near to Guildhall, or a place should have been obtained in the upper part of that steeple which stands just by. A large black board, about seven feet long, and six feet high, should have been affixed or hung outwards to this upper part of the steeple; and, upon this black board, the two  
 or



Sluys, after a brave resistance, at last surrendered to the French. It was, however, a dear purchase; for they lost, in

“or three intended numbers should have been previously written in large conspicuous figures, each about eighteen inches long, and proportionally broad and thick, with white chalk, or some proper whitening stuff laid on with a house painter’s brush. A garret should also have been obtained near the end of Oxford Road, and, in this garret, a telescope should have been placed, ready fixed, and directed towards the above-mentioned board, by means of which telescope, the persons stationed in the garret, would have instantly read the numbers upon the board. It is a well-known fact, that, with a reflecting-telescope, about one foot or fifteen inches long, it is easy to see the hour exhibited by a church dial situated at the distance of two or three miles.

“Having expressed the above idea to the reader, I shall now observe, that it is possible to distinguish and clearly read letters and words from a distance of fifteen miles, or more. For that purpose, a powerful telescope should be used; and the white letters on the black board should be very large; that is to say, those letters which have no tails, should be three feet long; and those with tails, should be five or six feet long, being at the same time proportionably broad and thick. The black board might be of a sufficient size to contain forty letters in four lines.

“Now, supposing that seven stations, with such a black-board, and a proper apparatus belonging to each, were placed in the intermediate space, between the two extreme stations at Lille and Paris, thus forming that space into eight divisions, of fifteen miles each, it would be possible, in half an hour’s time, to communicate from Lille to Paris, the words “*Condé has surrendered this morning at six o’clock.*”

“I am taking it here for granted, that the persons placed at the nine different stations, are very attentive in watching the respective signals, as well as expeditious in writing upon the black boards, and also that the telescopes are kept constantly fixed and properly directed. I mean presently to describe a very expeditious method of placing large white letters on the black board.

“By means of forty letters, very concisely used, it is possible to convey a deal of important intelligence, in a clear and satisfactory manner; but as forty letters, in some few particular instances, might not perhaps be sufficient, a second successive board might be used, which might be slid over the first, like the scenes at the play-house; upon which second board the discourse might be farther continued. Care should, at the same time, be had not to slide the second board till it appears, by a proper signal exhibited by the people at the opposite station, that they have fully read the letters on the first board.

“The following expedient should be used, for preventing the danger of the persons at the different stations, being either inaccurate or too slow, in forming the large letters with chalk, or a house-painter’s brush, on the black board. The large letters should be kept ready made before-hand, with bright white tin; and the black board should be fitted with small hooks, by means of which the large tin letters might be easily and instantly affixed to it. A considerable number of such large tin letters might be allowed to each station; and the persons employed in the business might soon be brought to find out the

in one assault, no less than *eighteen hundred men*. The French general in the course of his correspondence with the commandant Vander Duhn, insisted that the Hanoverians and Hessians, who formed part of the garrison, and were in the pay of Great Britain, should not be included in the capitulation; to which general Van der Duhn replied, that sooner than accede to such conditions, he would bury himself in the ruins of the town. The consequence was, that the Hessians and Hanoverians were included in the articles of capitulation. It appeared that the garrison was in very great want of provisions. By the possession of Sluys, the greater part of Dutch Flanders fell into the hands of the French.

General Pichegru sent his congratulations to the convention, on the overthrow of Robespierre. Simular congratulations were sent by Michaud, commander on the Rhine.

About this period, the following plan of military operation was ordered by the committee of public welfare to be carried into immediate execution: Pichegru, the commander in chief, was to attack Venlo, with thirty thousand men; Jourdan to advance against Maestricht with seventy thousand; Dandels to besiege Breda with ten thousand; Suliard to invest Gertruydenberg, with five thousand; Matha to attack Bois-le-Duc, with twenty thousand; and Vandomme to lay siege to Bergen-op-zoom, with twenty-five thousand. The besieging armies of Valenciennes and Condé, consisting of thirty thousand, were to be a Corps de Reserve.

“the proper letters for forming the prescribed words, as readily as a printer’s compositor finds out his types, and places them on his *composing rule* or *stick*.”

“When the communication is to take place during the night, it should then be effected by means of transparent letters, or *transparencies*; that is to say, the large letters should be cut through large thin sheets of iron; and those sheets, or large cut letters, should be placed before a vivid light or flame: care being at the same time taken to have the iron sheets placed in such a manner, as to allow no light to pass, except through those cuts by which the large letters are expressed. The words exhibited during the night, by such large letters of fire or light, might be read from a very great distance indeed, by means of a good telescope.”

A Telegraphe may be constructed at a trifling expence; and the utility of it is obvious, from the successful experiments the French have made with it. There is one circumstance, however, which will render it entirely useless, and that is, a thick *fog* or *mist*; for, in that case, let the light be ever so strong, and the letters as large as they may, it will be impossible to discover them at any considerable distance.

The

The following estimate was now made of the French armies.

	Men.
From Hunningen to Dunkirk - -	360,000
On the sea-coast and in La Vendée - -	110,000
On the side of the Mediterranean - -	50,000
The army of the Alps - -	80,000
Those of the Pyrenees and South - -	90,000
In the twenty-six districts surrounding Paris - -	35,000
Distributed in the different departments - -	130,000
Total	855,000

In the above French armies, from thirty thousand, to fifty-five thousand cavalry, were reckoned.

The French arms made rapid progress, not only in the east, but also in the west. On the Spanish frontiers, fifteen thousand Spaniards were defeated by six thousand French, who took, at the same time, an immense quantity of magazines, containing eleven thousand muskets, two hundred pieces of ordnance, and tents for twenty-five thousand men.

In order to inspire the people with a high idea of their humanity, the French generals issued the following lenient orders to the soldiers of the Pyrenean army: "Devastation, pillage, and burning, committed without orders from the commander in chief upon the Spanish territory, shall be punished with death. Those who shall commit any outrage upon the defenceless inhabitants, men, women, or children, shall also be punished with death. The old, the women, and the children, are especially under the safeguard of French generosity. Protection, succour, and safety, are promised to all inhabitants of the Spanish territory, who do not resist. Those who take up arms against the soldiers of liberty, shall be treated as enemies."

On the capture of St. Sebastian, four thousand prisoners, and four hundred pieces of cannon were taken from the Spaniards. The French likewise took twenty-seven valuable prizes in the port\*.

The governor of Fontarabia was allowed only six hours to consider of a surrender; in which time he thought pro-

\* The mole of St. Sebastian is sufficiently capacious to contain two hundred large vessels. The castle which commands it, and the sea-coast adjoining, is of great strength, and some antiquity, being the work of Sancho VIII. King of Navarre, about the year 1198.

per to capitulate. Fifty cannon, thirty-five shallops, and two brigs fell into the hands of the French. Under Louis XIV. it cost Marshal Berwick two months, and the flower of his army, to reduce this fortress.

At *Bilboa* fourteen eminent persons, found guilty of treacherously corresponding with the enemy, were ordered for execution. Twelve were hanged at Pampeluna. It was there discovered, that all the guns on the batteries had been loaded with sand instead of powder; so that if the French had succeeded in penetrating to the walls, no resistance could have been made.

The Spanish government now published an address to the people, in order to make their minds easy with respect to their situation. It stated, that the late successes of the French on their frontier, had been greatly magnified by venal and disaffected pens; and that the body of soldiers, who laid down their arms to the French, were composed of a feeble and undisciplined rabble. It then entered into a strain of declamation against the crimes, the oppression, and impiety of the French government. It concluded with representing the impossibility of the French being able to succeed in their designs against Spain, if the people only evinced a *sufficient spirit to resist them*; and exhorting them by every motive, by the memory of their ancestors, by their love of their country, their regard for religion, their loyalty to their sovereign, to come forward with zeal, vigour, and unanimity, in the present crisis.

The Madrid Gazette of the 26th of August claimed for Spain the honour of a complete defeat of the French before Bellegarde. General La Union wrote from his camp near that city, that on the 13th he divided his army into seven parts, six of which, composed of nine thousand men each, had orders to make feigned attacks upon the French on all sides, while he himself with a choice body of eleven thousand, made a grand movement, when he completely routed them, drove them from all their redoubts, which were thirty-seven in number, and killed their general. He also possessed himself of all their camp-equipage, twenty pieces of heavy artillery, six howitzers, and a great number of smaller artillery. The number of killed on the part of the enemy was not known, but reckoned, from appearances, not less than four thousand. The French retreated ten leagues beyond Bellegarde. About five hundred and fifteen of the Spaniards were killed.

In order to drive the battle from their gates, and to force the French to return within their own borders, the people  
of-

of Spain resolved to rise in a mass. Desirous to save the *lower orders* of the people from additional burdens, and to lay imposts where they could best be borne, the king required four per cent. on all *places and pensions*; and a certain sum, with the consent of the pope, from the clergy. The noble Spaniards holding places under government seconded the virtue of the king. Instead of four, they offered five per cent. and their offer was accepted. Will this *good* example find its way from the continent into our island? There is not the least danger of Spain ever falling under the dominion of France. It is defended by bold natural barriers; and there is a great deal of latent vigour and virtue in the inhabitants, as indeed there has been in all periods. Spain is, *wichal*, so happily situated between the north and south, and east and west, on a glorious promontory between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, that if the prerogatives of nature should ever be seconded by wise and ambitious policy, it might, instead of being subject to any power in Europe, become the first in the world.

The public attention, at this time, was considerably directed to the charges of High Treason, exhibited against several persons in the united kingdoms of England and Scotland. On the 3d of September, after a trial of twenty-two hours before the court of Oyer and Terminer, in Edinburgh, Robert Watt, wine merchant, and member of the British Convention, was found guilty of this crime.

Mr. Anstruther laid before the court and jury the case which was to be proved. "Such, he said, was the peculiar  
 "happiness of this country, that we had been unacquainted  
 "with the law of treason for nearly half a century. It was  
 "not his intention, if he possessed the powers, to inflame their  
 "passions against the prisoner. His object was to give a  
 "plain, a dry narrative of the facts, and a succinct statement  
 "of the law. The laws of treason in England and Scotland  
 "were now the same, and the duty of the subjects of both  
 "kingdoms should be the same. Scotland, in this instance,  
 "had reaped much benefit by the Union, as her laws of  
 "treason, previous to that period, were much more severe.  
 "The act of Edward III. stated three distinct species of treason.  
 "1. Compassing and imagining the death of the king.  
 "2. Levying war against him. 3. Assisting his enemies.  
 "He would not trouble the court or jury with the two last.  
 "The single species of treason, charged in the present case,  
 "was the compassing and imagining the death of the king;  
 "which was defined by the conceiving such a design; not  
 "the actual act, but the attempt to effect it. But the law  
 "which

“ which thus anxiously guarded the sovereign, was equally  
 “ favourable to the subject ; for it does not affect him until  
 “ the imagination be fully proved before *men of his con-*  
 “ *dition.* An overt act of treason is the means used for  
 “ effectuating the purpose of the mind. It is not necessary  
 “ to prove a direct attempt to assassinate the king ; for the  
 “ crime is the intention, and the overt act the means used to  
 “ effectuate it.

“ The prisoner,” continued he, “ and the committee of  
 “ which he was a member, had concerted a distinct and de-  
 “ liberate plan to overturn the existing government of the  
 “ country. The plan produced was this :—A fire was to  
 “ be raised near the Excise-office, Edinburgh, which would  
 “ require the attendance of the soldiers in the castle, who  
 “ were to be met there by a body of the Friends of the Peo-  
 “ ple ; another party of whom were to issue from the West  
 “ Bow to confine the soldiers between two fires, and cut off  
 “ their retreat ; the castle was next to be attempted ; the  
 “ judges (particularly the Lord Justice Clerk) were to be  
 “ seized ; and all the public banks were to be secured. A  
 “ proclamation was then to be issued, ordering all the farmers  
 “ to bring in their grain to market as usual ; and enjoining  
 “ all country gentlemen to keep within their houses, or three  
 “ miles from them, under penalty of death. Then an ad-  
 “ dress was to be sent to his majesty, commanding him to  
 “ put an end to the war, change his ministers, or take the  
 “ consequences. Such was the plan of the committee of  
 “ ways and means as proposed by the prisoner. Previous  
 “ to this, it should have been mentioned, that all the Friends  
 “ of the People were to be armed : with this view one  
 “ Fairley was dispatched round the country, to levy contri-  
 “ butions, and disperse seditious pamphlets ; for which pur-  
 “ pose he got particular instructions from the prisoner. It  
 “ would be proved, that the prisoner gave orders to Robert  
 “ Orrock to make four thousand pikes ; and also orders to  
 “ one Brown for the same purpose. These were to be used  
 “ for completing the great plan ; and Fairley’s mission was  
 “ to inform the country of this great plot.” Mr. Anstruther  
 concluded an elaborate, clear, and distinct pleading of  
 more than two hours and a half, “ by requesting the jury to  
 “ lay no further stress on what he had said than it should be  
 “ proved, as it was meant merely as a clue to the evidence  
 “ which should be brought before them.”

Mr. W. Erskine, junior counsel for the prisoner, said he  
 would not trouble the court with many words, but would  
 rest his defence upon the correspondence carried on between  
 the

the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate, and the prisoner, by which it would appear, that he had attended the meetings of the Friends of the People, with no other view than a design to give information of their proceedings. A letter from the prisoner to Mr. Secretary Dundas was read, which stated in substance, that, as he did not approve of the dangerous principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and was a friend to the constitution of his country, he thought it his duty to communicate to him, as a good subject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of those who styled themselves Friends of the People. From an acquaintance with several of the leading men among them, he flattered himself he had this in his power; and then goes on to mention some of the names of those leading men in Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. In the first of these places, he said he had been educated, and had resided in the two last for a considerable number of years. It concludes with enjoining secrecy.

To this letter an answer was returned, which was also read. It acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Watt's, and after expressing a hope that things were not so bad as he had represented, desired him to go on, and he might depend upon his communications being kept perfectly secret. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Ritchie, the prisoner's agent, was next read, in answer to one from Mr. M'Ritchie, requesting of Mr. Dundas what letters he had of the prisoner's. The answer bore, that all the letters he had received from Mr. Watt had been delivered to the Lord Advocate.

The Lord Advocate being sworn, in exculpation, gave a distinct account of the transactions which he had had with the prisoner. He had conversed with him several times at his own lodgings; and he had at one time given him some information which he thought of importance. This was respecting the disaffection of some dragoons at Perth, which, upon enquiry, turned out to be ill-founded. In March, 1793, his lordship said, an offer had been made to him to disclose some important secrets, provided he would give the prisoner 1000*l*. This he absolutely refused.—However, some time after, the prisoner having informed him that he was much pressed for money to retrieve a bill of 30*l*. his lordship, who was then in London, not wishing he should be distressed for such a small sum, sent an order for payment of it. All this happened previous to the meeting of the convention; since which time, at least since October last, he did not recollect seeing or having any connection with the prisoner.

Mr. Hamilton contended, that the prosecutor had failed in bringing the most criminal part of it home to the prisoner. He dwelt long on the correspondence between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Watt. He said, the prisoner had now deserted the service in which he had engaged; but had not had an opportunity of exercising it until the very time he was apprehended.

He contended, that he was a spy for government; and it was well known that a spy was obliged to assume not only the appearance of those whose secrets he meant to reveal, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent a discovery. He alluded to spies in armies, and mentioned a melancholy circumstance which happened to one last war, a gentleman with whom he had the honour of being acquainted. A spy in an army, he said, was obliged not only to assume the uniform of the enemy, but even to appear in arms; and it would be exceedingly hard indeed, if taken in a conflict, that he should be punished for discharging his duty. He concluded with hoping the jury would bring in a verdict, finding the charges not proved.

The Lord President, after clearly defining the laws of treason, summed up the evidence, narrating and explaining the various parts with much candour; leaving it entirely to the jury to return such a verdict as their judgment should direct. —The jury withdrew about half past five o'clock in the morning, and, in about five minutes, returned with a verdict —*Guilty*.

On the 5th came on the trial of David Downie, late goldsmith in Edinburgh, for High Treason, when the jury, after being out of court three quarters of an hour found him guilty, but, on account of certain circumstances, they unanimously recommended him to mercy.

On the 6th the Lord President, after a solemn address to the prisoners, delivered the following awful sentence of the court: "Robert Watt and David Downie, you have been found guilty of High Treason by your Peers. The sentence of the court is, therefore, that you be taken to the place from whence you came, from thence you shall be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, on Wednesday the 15th of October, there to hang by your necks until you are both dead;— your bowels to be taken out, and cast in your faces; and each of your bodies to be cut in four quarters, to be at the disposal of his majesty:—and the Lord have mercy on your souls!"

The



The unfortunate prisoners received the dreadful sentence with much firmness and composure, and were immediately conducted to the castle.

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## C H A P. XXX.

*Affairs of Poland.—King of Prussia's Army.—Insurrection at Warsaw.—Proclamation of the Supreme National Council.—Manifesto of the Emperor of Germany.—Letters of the Kings of Prussia and Poland.—Disturbances in South Prussia.—Siege of Warsaw raised.—Victories of the Poles.—Letter of the National Council to General Kyjnsko, and the General's Answer.*

TO those who are inclined to congratulate a brave and patriotic people, conquering their invading enemies, the successes of the Poles, at this time, must afford peculiar pleasure.

About the middle of June, General de Elsnér, who had been detached against Cracow, sent the following report to his Prussian Majesty, at his Head-Quarters, near Michalowo. On the 14th, the general arrived at the pass of Michalowo. He found it occupied by the enemy, attacked their cavalry posted there, and drove them under their intrenchments before Cracow; and in the evening fixed his camp in sight of Cracow. On the 15th, in the morning early, the general sent Lieutenant Reifewiz with a summons to Cracow. The enemy desired nine hours to consider. About that time Lieutenant Reifewiz was sent again, threatening, that if they would not come to an immediate conclusion, the bombardment should commence immediately. At eleven o'clock an answer was returned, that the town would surrender at discretion, upon which Colonel Lodiwarz put himself in motion to occupy the town and castle with two battalions, and two squadrons. Captain de Fontanus was left to regulate the articles of capitulation, and General Elsnér, with his corps, again joined his majesty.

On the 25th, the King of Prussia arrived at Kielce, and fixed his camp near that place, the left wing being covered by the town, and the right joined so close by the Russian troops, that the armies might be called united.

In addition to the critical situation of Warsaw, at this time,

time, which the enemy's forces approached from all directions, the indignation of the people was raised to the most alarming height on Friday the 17th instant. The armed citizens had repaired on that day, in the afternoon, to the intrenchments before the city, for the purpose of going through their military exercise. The armed inhabitants of another district of the capital, went with drums beating and instruments playing to the Guildhall of the Old Town, before which they drew up in a parade. One of their chiefs, whose name was Konopka, made a speech to them, in which he represented how unaccountable it was for the National Council and the Criminal Tribunal still to delay the judgment of those Polish prisoners, who were notoriously guilty of high treason. The keeping of those delinquents proved, at the same time, very expensive to the nation. The prisoners would perhaps escape all punishment; but it was in the power of the people to make them expiate their crimes.— This speech irritated the people to such a degree, that they unanimously called out, not to separate, before the gallows should be erected, and the traitors executed. The gallows was accordingly put up without delay; the Criminal Tribunal had released several hundred persons who had been put under arrest, but on the rest of them who were pronounced guilty, no sentence had as yet been pronounced.

The president, Zakizewsky, exerted his utmost efforts to persuade the mob at least to delay the execution till the judgment was passed; and ordered the gallows to be taken down; but the enraged multitude soon erected it again, and sacrificed to their fury the following persons: De Boscamp, Prior Counsellor; de Grabowsky; Majewsky, Attorney General of the Crown; Rogusky and Pietka; Wulfers, a Counsellor and Member of the *ci-devant* Provisionary High Council; Prince Anthony Czetwertinsky, and Prince Massalsky, the only male heir of that ancient and illustrious family, and uncle of the Princess de Lyne at Vienna. The exertions of the president, Zakizewsky, prevailed at last on the mob to respite the other prisoners, whose number amounts to one hundred and sixty-nine; and the populace dispersed, without doing any more mischief.

The Supreme National Council now issued a proclamation, which stated that the principal object of the insurrection being to dissolve every connection that subjected the republic to the control of foreign powers, this could only be effected by the unanimous exertions of the inhabitants of Poland. — “By taking up arms, the Poles have destroyed those pre-  
“judices which excited so much jealousy and discontent.

“Although

“ Although different in their faith and form of worship, they  
“ are nevertheless brothers in principle. Until the restora-  
“ tion of peace, and tranquillity at home, when the republic  
“ will be enabled to establish the privileges of every sect on  
“ the most solid foundations, the National Council think it  
“ their bounden duty to make the following declaration, in  
“ behalf of the non-conformists of the Greek persuasion.

“ Their church having always enjoyed a hierarchy, distinct  
“ and independent of all extra-judicial authority, the said  
“ church shall continue to enjoy the exclusive privilege,  
“ with this exception, however, that all disputes shall be re-  
“ ferred to the resident Patriarch at Constantinople. The  
“ Supreme Greek Consistory shall be convoked by their  
“ president, who shall nominate persons eligible to fill the  
“ places of absent members. He shall notify to the churches,  
“ monasteries, and every individual within the pale of the  
“ Greek church, that they shall enjoy the free exercise of  
“ their religion, in common with the subjects of Poland,  
“ liable however to the maintenance of their own clergy.  
“ They shall also be eligible to all offices, civil and military,  
“ and shall be under the immediate protection of the laws.

“ The council confirms this declaration by enjoining the  
“ spiritual and executive secular authorities, to make all per-  
“ sons amenable to the laws who shall either by words or  
“ writings, presume to persecute any individual non-con-  
“ formist of the Greek persuasion, on the pretence of re-  
“ ligion, and to punish them as disturbers of the public  
“ peace.”

General Kosciusko also issued a proclamation addressed to  
the Polish Greek non-conformist clergy, regular as well as  
secular, wherein he deplored the fate of those unfortunate  
ecclesiastics who were doomed to live under the iron fangs  
of despotism. “ The Russian government,” said he, “ makes  
“ use of their sacred office only for the promotion of their  
“ sinister views. They are expected, from the nature of  
“ their vocations, to instruct and enlighten the people. In  
“ future their own interest shall be promoted, and their hap-  
“ piness consulted. Let them, in the mean time, invite the  
“ people to participate in the blessings of liberty and a be-  
“ neficent government, which the Poles are determined to  
“ obtain, at the price of their blood. Then indeed those  
“ ecclesiastics will be on a respectable footing in Poland.  
“ Their property and stipends shall be secured to them by  
“ salutary laws. Disparity of religion will not prevent their  
“ being considered as brothers and fellow citizens. It should  
“ be reckoned a moral duty to make them sensible of the

“ difference between an unjust and oppressive government,  
 “ on which they depend for a miserable subsistence, and a  
 “ government founded on the immutable principles of justice  
 “ and liberty !”

The general then calls to their recollection the proceedings of their last diet. If their deliberations had not been interrupted, the spiritual government, which the States had left for their own choice, and which the States cheerfully satisfied, would have been established long ago. He assures them that they shall obtain what that diet could not accomplish : namely, that the Greek church shall have liberty to exercise all the functions of their religion, and that a proper provision shall be made for the parsons. He also assures them that the Poles desire to conciliate the affections of the ecclesiastics to the republic, by acts of kindness and assurances of protection. He concludes by admonishing them to prevail upon the people to take up arms and join the Polish nation, whose sole object was to recover their lost rights, and to persevere in the contest until their efforts shall be crowned with success.

In addition to this, Kosciusko made a declaration, which was transmitted to all the courts, in which he says, “ That,  
 “ as the Polish insurrection took place upon principles wholly  
 “ different from those that prevail in France, so should it be  
 “ conducted in a manner equally different. That all those  
 “ shall be regarded as enemies to their country, who shall at-  
 “ tempt to form clubs, or particular societies. That the au-  
 “ thorities should be rejected, and, particularly, that the king  
 “ should be treated with all the deference and regard to which  
 “ he was entitled.”

The proofs of the guilt of these unfortunate persons, whose devotion to Russia brought them to a miserable end, has been found in the Chancery of the Russian legation, and shew that they were not actuated by pure and disinterested views, particularly in the diet at Grodno. In the Warsaw Gazette of the 21st of June, they published an account of the pensions which the Generals Ozarowski, Kosciakowski, Zabiello, the Bishop of Kosciakowski, and the Minister Ankiewicz, received from the empress above their proper allowance. The first 2000 ducats yearly : the second, besides an indemnity for his property upon the Russian Cordon, 3000 ducat : the General Zabiello 1000 ducats per month during the sitting of the diet at Grodno ; and the Minister Ankiewicz, 500 ducats.

It is a circumstance not unworthy of historical remark, that Kosciakowski, the Grand General of Lithuania, lately put to death at Wilna, was the same who fought against the  
 Russians

Russians with so much vigour, and sometimes with success, during the confederation at Bar, of which he was a principal. The sworn enemy of Stanislaus Augustus, he gratified his hatred in bearing arms against the power that protected him. Circumstances having changed, he devoted himself to the interests of the court of Petersburg, following the counsils of his brother, the Bishop of Livonia, a prelate for whom ambition prepared the same fate as it did for the Hetman of Lithuania.

On the 19th of June, a courier brought intelligence to Vienna of the entry of ten thousand Prussians into Cracow on the 12th, and of the retreat of Kosciuszko, who was afraid of being placed between two hostile armies, if he had made any motion for its relief. The inhabitants procured an amnesty for what had passed, and were not required to subscribe any new oath. This unexpected circumstance was produced by a very extraordinary proposition on the part of Kosciuszko, who offered, previous to the battle of the 6th, to deliver Cracow into the possession of the Austrians, on condition of its being garrisoned solely by them until the end of the war. This requisition was actually acceded to by the court of Vienna, and five thousand men were to have entered that city on the 16th of June, had not the Prussians received intimation of the negotiation, and anticipated the event.

About the end of June, the following manifesto of the Emperor of Germany, for letting his troops enter Poland, was distributed by his majesty's order by Count Hannoncourt, Commander in Chief of the Austrian troops, to the inhabitants of Poland. "Whereas his Imperial majesty does not behold with an indifferent eye, the troubles which have arisen in Poland, which might have dangerous consequences for the safety and tranquillity of the countries belonging to his majesty, he has given me orders to repair with the troops under my command to the Polish territory, in order that, by so doing, not only all dangers be averted from the frontiers of Galicia, but that the tranquillity and safety of the countries of his majesty the emperor be consolidated. In consequence, the public have been apprised, that those who shall behave peaceably, friendly, and loyally, and consistently to the Austrian soldiers, will have to expect mighty protection, and the safety, both of their own persons, and of their estates and property; those, on the contrary, who shall dare to go so far as to render themselves guilty of an inconsiderate resistance, will bring upon themselves all the severity of the martial laws."

On the 12th of July, the head-quarters of the King and

Prince Royal of Prussia were only three or four leagues from Warsaw; when they published the following official Bulletin of their operations. "After our departure from Pinczow, where we had taken post subsequent to the capture of Cracow, we passed the defiles of Kielce and the forests. We then marched towards Opoczno; while, on the other side of the Vistula, from Lublin, the Russian troops proceeded through Lithuania. We crossed the Pilica without the slightest opposition; whilst the Austrians entered the Palatinates of Lublin and Selm, and placed a garrison in Sandomir. The enemy flee before us."

About this time the National Council recalled all the fugitive Poles for the defence of their country, under the pain of the forfeiture of their rights as citizens, and confiscation of property. The wife of General Relawsky, who acted against the Polish party at Targowitz and Grodno, presented the Grand Council with 200,000 Polish dollars, as a patriotic gift, and received in return *a divorce from her husband*. The theatre at Warsaw, the palaces of Prince Radziwil and Count Oginski, and some other public buildings, were converted into hospitals.

The news that Prince Repnin had taken Wilna by storm was now confirmed. A general massacre was the consequence, in which the Russians spared neither age nor sex. General Subow, who commanded on this occasion, afterwards directed his march towards Grodno. Another body of ten thousand Russians, on their march to Warsaw, passed Dubienka, the approach of whom rather damped the spirits of the Poles in that city.

On the 6th of August, about eleven thousand Poles, mostly regular troops, advanced with thirty pieces of cannon and two mortars against Liebau. At first the Russians posted themselves before the town to oppose them, but they were soon obliged to retreat; when the Poles following, fired their cannon-shot at them in the streets, by which a great number of them fell, and many of them were driven into the sea. Soon after the Poles had taken possession of Liebau, a Russian ship arrived, but finding that the place was in the hands of the Poles, escaped with the greatest difficulty, very much damaged by the Polish cannon. In and near Polangen there were now upwards of ten thousand Polish troops.

On the 11th, the Poles were placed before Warsaw in four entrenched camps, connected with each other, under the command of Kosciuszko, Dambrowski, Zajaczeck, and Mokronowski; the three latter being under Kosciuszko's command. This generalissimo was at Mokatow, where Madalinski

łinski was likewise posted; before him, at Czerniako, General Dambrowski was opposed to the Russians, who were near Villanow; Zajaczeck was before Wola, opposed to the Prussians; and Mokronowski, with whom Prince Joseph Poniatowski served as a volunteer, was likewise against the Prussians, who were posted near Gurce.—From these Polish camps a continual fire was kept up against the Prussians, by which several villages, in the possession of the latter, were set in flames. At Wola, a shot from a six pounder fell on one of the king of Prussia's own tents. Provisions they had in great plenty, continual supplies coming from the other side of the Weichsel, and even by the roads of Lithuania. Near the Bug they took a great number of Pontons, and upwards of one hundred oxen, which were brought into Warsaw. The pontoneers and soldiers, which accompanied them, were made prisoners.—The king, who has the good will of all the patriots, sent his last jewels to the National Council, to be used for the defence of the country, and for the making of new artillery.

Much about the same time, at Kerzminiec, in Volhinia, an action happened between the Poles and the Russians, in which the latter lost their military chest, containing 80,000 Polish guilders.

Some days prior to this, a letter from the King of Prussia to his Polish Majesty, was sent by a trumpeter to Warsaw, of which the contents are as follow.

“SIR, MY BROTHER,

“The position occupied by the armies which surround  
“Warsaw, and the efficacious means which are begun to be  
“employed to reduce it, and which augment and advance in  
“proportion as an useless resistance is prolonged, ought to  
“have convinced your majesty that the fate of that city is no  
“longer dubious. I hasten to place that of the inhabitants  
“in the hands of your majesty. A speedy surrender, and the  
“exact discipline I shall cause my troops, who are destined  
“to enter Warsaw, to observe, will secure the life and pro-  
“perty of all the peaceable inhabitants. A refusal to the first  
“and final summons, which my Lieutenant-General de  
“Schwerin has just addressed to the Commandant of War-  
“saw, will inevitably produce all the terrible and extreme  
“means, to which an open city, which provokes by its ob-  
“stinacy the horror of a siege, and the vengeance of two  
“armies, is exposed. If, under the circumstances in which  
“your majesty is placed, your majesty may be permitted to  
“inform

"inform the inhabitants of Warsaw of this alternative; and  
 "if they are permitted freely to deliver it, I can anticipate  
 "with an extreme pleasure that your majesty will become  
 "their deliverer. Should the contrary happen, I shall regret  
 "the more the inutility of this step, because I shall no longer  
 "be able to repeat it, however great may be the interest I  
 "take in the preservation of your majesty, and of all those  
 "whom the ties of blood and loyalty have called around your  
 "person. In any case, I trust that your majesty will accept  
 "the expression of the high esteem with which,

"I am,

"Sir, my Brother,

"The good Brother of your Majesty,

(Signed)

"FR. WILHELM.

"Camp at Wola, August 2."

#### REPLY OF STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS.

"The Polish army commanded by Generalissimo Kosciuszko, separating Warsaw from your majesty's camp, the  
 "position of Warsaw is not that of a city which can decide  
 "on its surrender. Under these circumstances nothing can  
 "justify the extremities of which your majesty's letter apprises me; for this city is neither in the state to accept,  
 "nor in that to refuse the summons which has been transmitted by Lieutenant-General de Schwerin to the Commandant at Warsaw. My own existence interests me no  
 "more than that of the inhabitants of this capital; but since  
 "Providence has vouchsafed to elevate me to the rank which  
 "allows me to manifest to your majesty, the sentiments of  
 "fraternity; I invoke them to move your majesty to abandon  
 "the cruel and revengeful ideas which are so contrary to the  
 "example kings owe to nations, and (I am altogether persuaded of it) are altogether opposite to your personal  
 "character.

(Signed)

"STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS.

"Warsaw, August 3."

About the middle of August various accounts were received of the troubles that had broken out in South Prussia, formerly Great Poland, of which his Prussian Majesty took possession last year. The insurrection began in the late waywardship of Gnesen, Brzesc and Inowroclau. The Poles possessed themselves of the town of Gnesen, twelve leagues from



from Thorn, on the road to Posen. The few Prussian soldiers who were there made prisoners: they plundered the military chest, overthrew the Prussian flags, trampled them under their feet, and even hung up or flung on gibbets, erected for that purpose. The same insurrection took place at Gutzke in Cujavia, and at Whodlawek, seven leagues from hence. In this latter place the Poles took several boats loaded with powder and ammunition, and their escort, which had been sent from Grand-aix, on the Weixel, at Warsaw. In all the places which they visited, they made the magistrates and inhabitants take the oath of fidelity to the republic of Poland, and to the constitution of 1791.

On the 22d, the Polish General, Marawitz, marched into South Prussia, at the head of ten thousand men, and soon induced the greater part of the inhabitants of the provinces of Posenania, Gnesen, and Kessich, to arm in his favour, and incorporate themselves with his forces. In consequence of this, he made dispositions for effecting the same in Siradia, and other places, in such a manner that ancient Poland should be soon united to Kosciuszko. It was on account of this movement, that the King of Prussia ordered several corps from Mentz and the Rhine. The same letters mention a battle between the Poles, under General Poninsky, and a numerous body of Prussians, in the island near Zegrze, which is formed by the Narew, where it empties itself into the Bug. The Prussians at this place had nearly completed a bridge to facilitate their passage to Warsaw, distant only four leagues, when they sustained a furious attack, and were entirely defeated and dispersed. The victory was of great advantage to the Poles, as it tended to keep that part of the country entirely open, by which Kosciuszko received his provisions. Another action took place between the Polish General Gedroyce, and the Russians, in Lithuania. The latter were repulsed in their attempt to invade Samogitia. And, lastly, in another action upon the confines of Poland, General Madalinsky also defeated a body of Russians, and obliged them to renounce their projects of entering the waywodships. The whole duchy of Courland was now in the interest of the Poles, who seemed as if they would regain all the territory which had been wrested from them. General Waurzecky commanded in Courland and Samogitia, where the militia, and the forces under him, made their own, and the district of Lithuania, a common cause.

The inhabitants of Warsaw, at this time, appeared to be under no apprehension whatever, but lived very much at their ease. To the summons sent by the King of Prussia, they

boldly answered, that they neither would nor ought to receive any propositions of that nature, while they had a respectable army to defend them, an army, which they invited him to beat and disperse, *if he were able.*

The army of Kosciuszko remained so strongly intrenched, that the enemy were not able to approach the city, which had not been in the least damaged by the bombardment. The bombs as yet had scarcely reached the lines. Such was the abundance of provisions, that meat, instead of being at a high price, as might be expected under such circumstances, was sold at no more than nine Polish pieces per pound, which is equivalent to four pence halfpenny of English-money.

On the night between the 5th and 6th of September, the Prussian and Russian armies abandoned the siege of Warsaw, after having for two months made the most fruitless efforts to render themselves masters of that capital. Although this retreat at first seems to have been occasioned by the general insurrection which had taken place in all the Palatinates of Great Poland, it is however certain, that in any case they would have been obliged to abandon the siege; for besides their having lost a number of men, in different bloody engagements, by diseases and by desertion; they experienced a total want of provisions and ammunition.

The King of Prussia, having left his sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy, divided his troops into three distinct corps, which instantly retreated towards Peterkaw, Czentokow, and Zakrocym, the last of which places is about two miles distant from the confluence of the Bug and the Vistula.

The Russians, to the number of ten thousand, who had retired at the same time from Villanovo to Koczinicze, afterwards marched towards Lublin; General Fersen it was thought, there would form a junction with another body of twenty thousand men from Wolknia, commanded by the famous Suwarrow, an officer whose very name terrified the Turks during the late war.

When the news of raising the siege of Warsaw reached this country, every friend of humanity rejoiced. The King of Prussia, blinded by his ambition, now found himself out-witted by Catherine, who equally well gains her end by the destruction of Prussia, as she would by that of Poland. To induce his Prussian Majesty to carry his arms into Poland, she proposed that they should not merely subdue the provinces which had begun to assert their liberty, but that the whole of Poland should be divided, and she promised immediately to assist him with all her forces. Allured by such flattering prospects of extended dominion, he marched into  
the

the heart of Poland. The commanders of the empress, according to report, had orders to follow a different line of conduct, that of merely amusing, by skirmishing on the frontiers, and in Lithuania. Before the King of Prussia found it necessary to raise the siege of Warsaw, he received a very polite communication from Prince Repnin, stating that it was with sorrow he had to announce that the resistance of the Poles in Lithuania was so general, and required so much attention from the army of the empress, as to put it entirely out of his power to co-operate with the Prussian army in the reduction of Warsaw. This, with the information received by his Prussian Majesty at the same time, that the insurrection was not only gaining ground in South Prussia, but extending into other parts of his dominions, made it absolutely necessary for him to retreat with as much precipitation as the Duke of Brunswick did from France.—The cause of the Poles must be dear to the heart of every Briton, and every human creature. Nor could the British government, perhaps, observe a more magnanimous, or juster, or wiser policy, than to take part with the Poles, and afford them, in conjunction with Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey, effectual protection. Under our protection, they might receive the inestimable blessings of moderated monarchy and regulated liberty. Abandoned by us, they throw themselves into the arms of France, and adopt principles of licentiousness.—What does the Empress of Russia deserve at our hands? What the King of Prussia? And what, again, do the Poles and present King of Poland, so much attached to, and so desirous of an alliance with the English, not deserve?

Immediately after the siege was raised, the Supreme National Council wrote the following letter to General Kosciusko. “ Penetrated with the most heart felt-joy, occasion-  
“ ed by the retreat of the enemy from our capital, the Na-  
“ tional Council, dear general, congratulates you on this  
“ happy event; for your zeal and arrangements have anni-  
“ hilated all threats of our enemy. The council, worthy  
“ general, is convinced of the extreme troubles which you  
“ put yourself under, by taking upon you the defence of our  
“ capital, and only wishes to be able to convince you of the  
“ gratitude and respect which every individual owes you, as  
“ the consequences of your endeavours are of the utmost im-  
“ portance to our cause. The council, for this purpose, has  
“ resolved to commemorate this happy event by a public  
“ festival, which your presence would make more brilliant  
“ and pleasing to a grateful people; the council, therefore,  
“ leaves it to you, to name the manner and time of this festi-  
“ val,

“val, and expect your farther advice. Dated in the sitting of the council, September 6, 1794.”

General Kosciuszko in his answer thanks the council “for this flattering token of their satisfaction, and says, that the liberation of the capital is owing to Providence, the bravery of the Polish warriors, the zeal and courage of the inhabitants of Warsaw, and the wise management of the acting government. The manner and time of the intended festival he entirely leaves to the Supreme Council to determine;” “as his business does not allow him to be present in person.”

On the 12th of September, very satisfactory accounts were received at Warsaw from Lithuania, and particularly from the town and district of Rown, situated on the frontiers of Samogitia, on the junction of the two rivers Niemen and Wilya. A body of Russians having prepared to take that town by surprise, the commanders, in order to accomplish their designs, embarked in several boats about six hundred infantry, with a considerable number of cannon, which were to be transported on the river Niemen against Kowno, called Caven, in German: but General Meyen, the Polish Commander of that town, informed in time of the intention of the enemy, planted several pieces of heavy artillery on one of the banks of the Niemen, concealed in a thick forest; and as soon as the boats with the Russian troops were within reach of his cannon, he fired upon them with red-hot balls so successfully, that in a little time they all disappeared along with their cargoes.

About this time, the Russian army, consisting of twenty thousand men, arrived in Poland. On the 17th their advanced guards fell in with a party of Poles, near Koptin, which consisted of about one hundred men, whom they attacked, and killed the greatest part of them. The Polish General Shieranowsky, with about nine thousand men and twenty-three pieces of cannon, was encamped near Brzesc. The Russians arrived on the 18th before Brzesc, and found the Polish army in order of battle, ready to receive them, which they immediately attacked. The Poles defended themselves for three hours with the greatest bravery, but were, at last, forced to retreat across the Bug. The Russians followed them, took a great number of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest. The loss of the Poles was reckoned at about six thousand men.

On the 13th of September an engagement took place between the Polish troops, under General Dombrowski, and the Prussian corps, posted at Kamiona, to guard a considerable magazine of flour, oats, salt, and provisions of all kinds.

General

General Dombrowski divided his troops into three columns. The first column forced the enemy, and got possession of Kamiona; the second carried a battery, and the third was equally successful in the object of its attack. The Prussians in this action had one hundred men killed, and seventy-five taken prisoners, among the latter of whom were two officers. The whole of the magazine fell into the hands of the Poles. The number of the insurgents in South Prussia daily increased. They were divided into several bodies, which altogether amounted to about fifteen thousand men.

## CH A P. XXXI.

*Liberty of the Press.—Attempt to assassinate Tallien.—The Jacobins pointed out as the Assassins.—Of the two leading Parties in France.—Balloons adopted by the French in order to view the position of the Enemy.—Perpetual Motion said to be discovered by a North Briton.*

TOWARDS the end of August, the question concerning the Liberty of the Press was debated in the National Convention of France, when it was decreed that the press was free, and that "at no time, for no reason, and under no pretext, could it receive any infringement." The sound policy, judicious sentiments, and liberal principles, contained in *Freron's* speech on this subject, well deserve attention.

"I rise," said he, "to present the plan of a decree, called for by discussions in the popular societies, and by the wish of all France. Such a decree is the most effectual, indeed the only means of securing the republic against the oppression of liberty, and the national representatives. The tyranny of Robespierre is known; it is our duty to publish the means by which he effected his usurpation, as a grand lesson to legislators, and to every free people on earth. It is well known, that in a society of brothers and friends, a gesture or word of him was sufficient to make any man be struck out of the Jacobin Club; and that the man, who was struck out of the list of the Jacobins, was soon struck out of the list of the living; that, under pretext of a revolutionary government, he artfully contrived to fit the convention above principles, the two committees above the convention, the Committee of Public Safety above the Committee

" Committee of General Safety, and himself above the Com-  
 \* mittee of Public Safety; that, in this hall, for a repre-  
 " sentative of the people to give an opinion contrary to that  
 " of Robespierre, was to obtain a passport to the guillotine;  
 " that he filled all the prisons with excellent republicans;  
 " that he corrupted the Revolutionary Tribunal, where  
 " judgments of death were pronounced in terms of jocularitŷ.  
 " Ought we not to blush at, as well as to lament, what we  
 " have suffered? If truth accuse us, far from stifling her  
 " voice, we ought to make it be heard in the most ingenuous  
 " manner. A magnanimous confession of our errors will  
 " be the surest pledge of our resolution to correct them, and  
 " to restore the sacred power of reason, justice, law, and hu-  
 " manity. The tyrant, who oppressed his colleagues still  
 " more than the nation, was so enveloped in the semblance  
 " of popular virtues; the esteem and confidence of the peo-  
 " ple, which he had usurped, for five years, by an hypocrisy  
 " that never slumbered, had formed around him a rampart so  
 " sacred, that we should have endangered the nation, and li-  
 " berty itself, if we had sooner given way to our impatience  
 " to destroy the tyrant. We were obliged to keep our necks  
 " under the sword, to give time for him to unmask himself.  
 " If, when we attacked him, the eyes of the people had not  
 " been opened, either the blow would not have been mortal,  
 " or death, in depriving him of a throne, would have raised  
 " to him an altar. On this altar, a man of similar ambition  
 " might have erected a tyranny not to be destroyed. We did  
 " not destroy the tyrant until the 27th of July; but with what  
 " certainty, and in how many ways, was his ruin prepared  
 " two months before? The tyrant himself felt this to be the  
 " case, and sought for security in the punishment of all who  
 " alarmed his suspicions; and the more heads he struck off,  
 " the more he was alarmed for his own. Liberty, the sacred  
 " attribute of human kind, will no more punish her enemies  
 " in France, but by the oracles of justice, as holy as herself.  
 " Those prisons, which never opened but to receive new  
 " victims, or to send them to the scaffold, we have now open-  
 " ed, to restore to their families those numerous citizens, who  
 " have been shut up in them without cause. You have re-  
 " stored its full effect to that principle, without which there  
 " is neither justice, nor law, nor social order; viz. that the  
 " authority instituted to protect the liberty of individuals,  
 " cannot infringe that liberty but for pacific reasons com-  
 " municated to the party accused. The unanimity with  
 " which we voted for the death of Robespierre, ought to be  
 " a pledge, that all divisions among us are at an end. Let  
 " those,

those, then, who hitherto have given us only silent votes, aid us now with the result of their knowledge and their study. Let us make haste to improve this renovation of our sentiments, to the completion of the laws which the republic has enjoined us to prepare.

"While our triumphant armies are carrying thunder against our enemies, let us diffuse light, and the example of good institutions, to those nations whom we are pushing forward to liberty, even by their defeats. But to run this new career with honour, we ought, before entering upon it, to call to our aid all the knowledge of France. You will understand, that I mean the Liberty of the Press. How unfortunate is it, that after five years of a revolution, begun by the light which the Liberty of the Press had flashed even in the eyes of enemies; if, after having enjoyed for four years the most indefinite liberty of thinking, speaking, writing, and printing; if, after having inscribed this liberty, in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, as the most sacred of all rights, the most inviolable and invincible protection of the rest, we now find ourselves obliged to call for a decree on the Liberty of the Press! I respect the convention too much; I have studied this spirit, and the effect of its laws too deeply, to ask if there is a law that abolishes the Liberty of the Press. No; no law of yours could take from the people—your sovereign and your constituent—the enjoyment of the first of the Rights of Man. But the tyrant to whom nothing was sacred but his own pride, trampled equally under foot, the Rights of Man, and your laws. By him were sent to death men guilty of no other crime than that of having printed their opinions, at a time when even the excess of this liberty had the protection, and the guarantee of all the laws, and all the powers. As artful as he was cruel, he never ventured to say *printing was forbidden*; but the guillotine fell on every man who availed himself of this right. To make liberty go backwards, it was necessary for him to make knowledge do so too. If the press had remained free; the number of irreproachable citizens, who were daily dragged from their homes to the prison, and from the prison to the scaffold, would have raised their voice. Details of the horrors committed in the prisons, would have been presented to the view of a humane people. The outrages of justice and humanity by assassins, which he called a tribunal, would have resounded from one end of the republic to the other; and not only whatever wore a human heart, but the very stones would have risen up against the monster, who

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harangued on morality and virtue, while he stopped every voice that could speak of his innumerable crimes. Thus he suppressed at once the freedom of debate, by which the convention could have denounced him to the nation, and the Liberty of the Press, by which the nation could have denounced him to the convention.

"This dreadful example ought to teach us how necessary the Liberty of the Press is to terrify, to unmask, and to stop the plots of ambitious men. The indefinite Liberty of the Press alone can give this movement to the minds of men. The indefinite Liberty of the Press connects and exchanges the ideas of the philosophers of every country, and of the legislators of every free people. The Liberty of the Press unites, for the benefit of a single nation, all the knowledge, and all the force of the human mind. The Liberty of the Press is alone sufficient to defeat the most dexterous enterprises of ambition; it is necessary to give to representative government the essential character of the purest democracy, and, by means of it, legislators, in the torrent of daily affairs that engage their attention, may receive the various and profound conclusions of every thinking mind upon earth. Decree then that the press is free; but declare, at the same time, that whoever attempts setting any limit, or offering any infringement to this liberty, has truths to conceal and falsehoods to propagate; declare that every Legislative Body, every governing Committee, every Executive Authority, every Public Functionary, that by decree, order or act, shall attempt to suppress or circumscribe the Liberty of the Press, is in a state of conspiracy against the people and the republic. I will not deny that this luminary of the human race, this sun of the mind, made to enlighten governments through paths in which are darkness, confusion, and disaster, may, in the hands of some incendiaries, become the hurtful instrument of their passions; but the day star also, while he sheds torrents of light over the globe, raises the vapours which obscure the vallies, and sometimes occasions storms. Would you for this extinguish the sun in the vault of heaven? The Liberty of the Press, if it be not unlimited, cannot exist. Let then this source of light be instantly opened, and, in the day that it will shed around us, let all the questions be agitated which we have yet to decide upon, or which have not been decided to the satisfaction of the best informed patriots of France and the sages of the universe.

"The Revolutionary Tribunal, and the general police,

"re-



" require also your attention. The police of ignorant and barbarous nations is imprisonment, and their justice, death: Among nations enlightened on the social art, in governments acquainted with human nature, a skilful and well distributed vigilance renders numerous imprisonments unnecessary; and penalties, well apportioned to degrees of guilt, render the punishment of death more terrible from being rare. What contempt has been affected among us for these maxims! Into what horrors has this contempt led us! Let experience, which has cost us so dear, bring us back to those eternal principles which the genius of Montesquieu and Beccaria drew from the history of ages. Let us think with them, that the terror of punishment is lost in its frequency, and that to make death be feared, we must seldom inflict it. It is not the axe which is always falling, but the axe which is always ready to fall, on which the imagination and eye dare not fix. Multiplied punishments, by rendering criminals more desperate, may destroy, in the minds of a whole people, those tender and sublime affections, that exquisite feeling of humanity, which are the principle, the end, and the perfection of all the social virtues. I move, that you order your Committee of Legislation to present a plan of active police and vigilance, which may keep incessantly under the eyes of the magistrate all those whose manner of living or talking may excite suspicion. It is the weakness, the disorder, and the sloth of government that fill the prisons. A government of order, vigilance, and energy, makes society itself the guardian of society, without screening from punishment those who are the just objects. Good patrols prevent bloody battles. Patrols may be a measure of police as well as of military vigilance, and, perhaps, if properly organized the best fitted for a revolutionary government."

During the first week of September, the convention was engaged in the examination of the conduct of those agents into whose hands the business of selling the lands forfeited to the republic was committed. Great frauds were discovered. It was found that many of the most violent republicans were republicans, only that they might with impunity lay hands on the effects of the nation. In one of the debates on this subject, Tallien declared to the convention, that men who were in office gained such great property as to lay out immense sums in purchases, and by this means many poor *Sans Culottes* were prevented from buying the small lots. He proposed

posed therefore that husbandmen should be allowed as much land as they could cultivate themselves.

Whether Tallien's insinuation against those who had enriched themselves at the expence of the nation, excited the resentment of the peculators, is not known, but as he was going home about twelve o'clock at night, after he had made this declaration in the convention, he was attacked near his own door by a man in a great coat and round hat, "*Come Villain, (he cried) I have staid for thee a long time.*" He then struck him with his fist upon the breast, and at the same instant fired a pistol at him. The ball penetrated near his shoulder. He fell. Though several people came up immediately, the assassin escaped, favoured by the darkness of the night. Upon examination the wound was pronounced *not mortal*.

The next day Merlin of Thionville pointed out the Jacobins as the assassins of Tallien. "Do ye wish," said he, "to know the murderers." Read the analysis of yesterday's sitting of the Jacobin Club: you will there see the victims pointed out, you will there see that several National Representatives are pointed out for assassination. They wish to have patriots after the fashion of Robespierre; knights of the guillotine. Let me repeat to you a phrase of one of their members: "*The frogs of the marsh\* are rearing their heads; but they will be the sooner crushed.*" Is not this enough to determine the convention, if not to shut up the Hall of the Jacobins, at least to forbid any of the National Representatives to assist at its sittings?

It was not long before Tallien recovered from his wound, and, in consequence of the attempt to assassinate him, regained much of his popularity, which was evidently on the decline. Freron, one of his party, now became the editor of a periodical paper, entitled *The Orator of the People*, in which he did not spare his political opponents.

It may not be improper here to recal to the minds of those, who may not have leisure or opportunity to be minutely informed of the state of France, that there are in that country two leading parties. The followers of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, are violent democrats, whose principal aim is, by means of clubs and popular associations, to keep all things in a kind of revolutionary fermentation; who are jealous of kings, princes, lords, and all men, who by rank, fortune, or fame, are distinguished from the vulgar. They would wage eternal war with all their neighbours, unless, under the plausible, yet delusive idea of fraternization, they surrender them-

\* The valley side of the convention, or moderate party.

selves to the control and direction of the French republic, as so many nations of Europe, in former times, one after another, in the name of FRIENDS and ALLIES, did to those of the Romans. They see no settlement but in wild uproar; no order but in confusion. The followers of Brissot, or the Girondists, now called the Moderatists, in opposition to the Jacobin and other clubs, maintain the sovereign power of the convention, the regularly, and, as they say, legally constituted representatives of the people. Though it has not been thought eligible, perhaps not altogether safe, to the nascent republic, by the Moderatists, to declare for the abolition of the clubs, the cradle undoubtedly of liberty, they wish to curb their extravagance; to poise the state by its own constitutional powers; to quiet the minds of all ranks by the operation of the laws; and diffuse the blessings of equal government throughout every part of the empire. This party, ever since the fall of the dictator, has been on the increase. The convention seem to become more and more at liberty to speak the sentiments of the people of France, whose interest, and inclination too, it is reasonable to suppose, is *peace*. All men of property, good morals, and good hopes, the number of whom in France is, no doubt, considerable, must be inclined to peace by the influence of every generous, as well as selfish, passion; by a love of friends and kindred; above all, by parental tenderness—by an anxious desire to settle their posterity in the quiet enjoyment of fortune, or the peaceable means of acquiring it.

About this time balloons were adopted by the French commanders, for reconnoitring the situation of the allied armies. They were attached to the ground by cords, with aéronauts skilled in tactics, who viewed the position of the troops, took plans, and gave information by signals, or by dropping papers. They were composed of yellow taffeta gummed, and covered with a net-work of strong thread; and the aerial voyagers had with them, in the gondola, all the instruments necessary to determine the height of the balloon in the atmosphere, and to discover the temperatures they might experience. The form of the balloons was not spherical as those of Montgolfier, Blanchard, Pilatre, and Rozier. Their figure was elliptic, twenty-nine feet in length, nineteen in diameter, and fifty-seven in circumference.

The invention of a machine with perpetual motion has long been considered as an object of the greatest importance, and much attention and expence have been employed to discover it. In the course of last month, a mason at Arbroath, in Scotland, finished a machine, composed of metal, which

has neither spring nor pendulum to actuate its motion. It moves merely by its own powers of pressure. Such is the simplicity of its construction, and the energetic principles by which it is regulated, that there is little doubt entertained of its going for ages. He began to study this branch of mechanism at a very early period in life; and now, after thirty-six years of almost constant application, his endeavours proved successful.

## C H A P. XXXII.

*Engagement near Grave.—Defeat of General Clairfayt.—Defeat of General Collocodo.—The Parisians demand a Chief.—Crevecoeur surrenders to the French.—Advantages gained by the Spaniards over the French.—Position of the British Army at Bommell.—Inundations.—Bois-le-Duc, Venlo, Nimeguen, and Maestricht surrender to the French.—Address of the Prince of Orange.—Diet at Rastibon.—Execution of Watt.—Acquittal of John Horne Tooke, Esq. and other State Prisoners.—Prorogation of Parliament.—Inconsistent Character of the Dutch.*

ON the 15th of September a sudden attack was made by the French, upon all the posts of the right of the British army near Grave\*; and that of Boxtel, which was the most advanced, was forced, with considerable loss to the Hesse-Darmstadt troops, who occupied it. "As the line of my out-posts upon the Bommel could not be maintained," says the Duke of York, "while the enemy were in possession of Boxtel, it appeared necessary to regain it; at the same time, the degree of resistance, which the enemy would make, would serve to ascertain whether this attack was supported by their army, with a view to a general attack, or was merely an affair of out-posts. I therefore ordered Lieutenant General Abercrombie to march with a reserve during the night, with directions to reconnoitre the post at day-light, and to act as he should judge best, from what he should discover of the

\* Grave is a pleasant town upon the Meuse. The Prince of Orange bought it, with consent of the state, of the King of Spain.

" force of the enemy. The general having advanced as  
 " directed, found the enemy in such strength as left little  
 " room to doubt of the proximity of their army, and he ac-  
 " cordingly retired, but in such good order, as prevented  
 " the enemy from making any impression, although they  
 " followed him for some distance. About this time I re-  
 " ceived private information, upon which I could rely, and  
 " which was confirmed by the observation of my patrols,  
 " and the reports of deserters, that the enemy had been rein-  
 " forced by the corps which had hitherto been acting in  
 " West Flanders, as well as by a column of the army  
 " which had been employed before Valenciennes and  
 " Condé. The same information assured me also, that the  
 " column which had been marching towards Maestricht  
 " had suddenly returned towards us. From these accounts,  
 " and what I knew of the previous strength of the enemy,  
 " it appeared that the actual force now advancing against  
 " me, and whose object could only be an attack upon my  
 " army, could scarcely be less than eighty thousand men.  
 " The hazard of an action, with such a very great disparity  
 " of numbers, could not but become a matter of the  
 " most serious consideration; and, after the most mature  
 " deliberation, I did not think myself at liberty to risk, in  
 " so unequal a contest, his majesty's troops, or those of his  
 " allies serving with them. I had the utmost reliance on  
 " their courage and discipline, and I had no doubt but that  
 " those would have enabled me to resist the first efforts of  
 " the enemy; but it could scarcely be expected that even by  
 " the utmost exertion of these qualities, they would be able  
 " to withstand the reiterated attacks which the vast su-  
 " periority of the enemy would enable them to make, and  
 " which we know, from experience, is a general principle  
 " upon which they act. Actuated by these reasons, and the  
 " further information which I received about noon, that  
 " the enemy were marching considerable columns towards  
 " my left, in which part my position was most vulnerable,  
 " I determined on retreating across the Meuse. The ar-  
 " my accordingly marched at three o'clock, and, without any  
 " loss whatever, took up a position, which had been previ-  
 " ously reconnoitred, about three miles in front of this place,  
 " from which they crossed the river yesterday morning.  
 " The loss in the attack upon the out-posts has fallen chief-  
 " ly upon the Hesse Darmstadt troops, with some of the so-  
 " reign troops, newly raised for his majesty's service.  
 " The 29th regiment was engaged, and lost several men."

Much about the same time, the Austrian army under

General Clairfayt was defeated by the French in the vicinity of Maestricht. The ability, however, with which the general adopted every plan of operation, the unabated firmness of spirit he preserved, and the presence of mind he evinced in this disastrous conflict, greatly increased the splendor of his character. He had placed his centre before Juliers; his right extended along the left bank of the Roer on the side of Ruremond; and his left was supported by Duren; having the Roer behind his whole line. Before his centre was the plain of Aldenhoven, bordered on every side by small hills; and at the extremity of the plain was a very large passage, through which the enemy must penetrate, before they could attack the grand army. On the hills were redoubts, at equal distances, furnished with artillery, which took the enemy in flank, making a cross fire. The French on their side had planted cannon at the extremity of the hills, on the side of the passage, to fire upon such of their own troops as might fall back, or might endeavour to turn about, to avoid the fire of the redoubts. The French advanced with their usual intrepidity and fury. They were mowed down by the artillery placed on the hills to the right and left, and the batteries raised by our army in front. During the three hours that their attack lasted, they lost one thousand five hundred men, whilst the Austrian army remained firm, and experienced scarcely any loss. It might have remained so without fear of being forced, and certain of seeing the enemy cover the plain with their dead, before they could make any impression on it; but general Clairfayt was informed, that his other two wings had not made the expected resistance; that they were forced, and that he was in danger of being turned and overpowered by the two corps that had routed them. He then made his retreat to Cologne, in the best order, with the loss only of seven hundred men. General Clairfayt had caused two redoubts to be constructed at the head of the bridge of Cologne, to protect the passage of the Rhine, in case he should be obliged to retreat. He confided the guard of it to the emigrant legion of Bourbon, saying to it, "I know that I give you a post extremely difficult to guard; but the necessity I am under, and the high opinion that I entertain of your bravery, persuade me that I cannot confide it in better hands." In effect, that legion maintained its post during five hours, repelling all the efforts of the enemy, who attempted to fall on its rear guard, and did not retire until the whole army had passed the river.

An action like this took place at this time between the  
Austrian

Austrians and the French, near Dego, in the vicinity of Caire, of which the following is the official account.

“ During the night of the 18th of September, we were informed, that the enemy was marching in three strong columns against our advanced posts, near Mallase; in consequence of which, all our posts were reinforced, and Major Count de Khun, was stationed at Milefino and Cofferia, with four companies of the regiment of Archduke Anthony, and at the same time General Count de Colloredo took a position on the heights of Carcare, with seven battalions of infantry, and two squadrons of the Hulus of Meszaros, covering his right wing, with the Cense Brain, and stationing his cavalry in the plain. On the 19th, at nine o'clock, the enemy, protected by a thick fog, advanced in great force, and compelled our advanced posts, after a vigorous resistance, to fall back; after which, they extended themselves with such celerity on the summits of the mountains, which are covered with chestnut trees, that, towards seven in the evening, they had nearly surrounded our right wing, between Carcare and Milefino. On the 20th at day-break, we discovered the enemy marching in two columns, of which, about one o'clock, one presented itself to our front, while the other, composed of four thousand men, advanced against our right wing, where it attacked Major de Khun with the greatest impetuosity, who sustained his position, during an hour, but at last found it expedient to retreat to a neighbouring height, where he formed his corps into a square, in expectation of a fresh assault from the enemy. The latter, however, discouraged by the great loss which they had suffered, did not renew the attack, but endeavoured to surround the corps, and with it the right wing of our army. This manœuvre obliged General Colloredo to retire from his position, and to send a division of infantry to the support of Major Khun, who was in consequence enabled to retreat, in the night of the 20th, without the smallest loss. As the ground adjoining Caire, does not admit of a convenient position being taken, our troops were obliged to fall back as far as Dego; and the motions of the enemy inducing us to suppose, that they meant to take us in the flank and rear, our right was stationed at Saint Juliette, and our left on the mountains towards Montenotte.”

On the 24th of September, the people of Paris assembled in great crowds on the places, Sorbonne, de Greve, Petit St Antoine, du Caroufel, &c. &c. demanding unanimously not a king but a chief. Several battalions of national guards

guards were detached with cannon to disperse the mob, preceded by the representatives of the people, who, having harangued the populace, and assured them that if they had grievances to complain of, or any proposal to make to the convention, they should obtain the readiest redress, succeeded to separate the mob. As these commotions, however, seemed to be connected with the disturbances which had again broken out at Marseilles, the convention, it was thought, would find their entire suppression a very difficult task. In consequence of the disturbance in Paris, the convention wrote for a detachment of ten thousand of the best troops in Pichegru's army.

Fort Crevecoeur, after having been bombarded by howitzers, surrendered to the French on the 21st, at midnight. The garrison, said to consist of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of colonel Tibbal of the engineers, made a capitulation, by which it was allowed to march out with the honours of war, the troops laying down their arms on the glacis, and engaging not to serve against France for the space of *a year and six weeks*. The terms of this surrender had a great influence on the siege of Bois-le-duc, against which place the most violent fire was now kept up. The capture of Crevecoeur laying open the part of Gueldres which is separated by the Meuse from Brabant, the defence on that side became extremely critical.

The same day, a severe skirmish took place between Patteren and Aldenhoven. The French cavalry, particularly the chasseurs, advanced as far as Iden and Öntweller, and even to Kirchberg, where they surprised some of the Austrian chasseurs, and a picquet of light-horse; on which occasion a cannonading took place between the out-posts at Gulik, with loss on both sides. Towards Lidnich, where thirty-six squadrons of horse were posted, a very bloody conflict took place. Next day, every thing was quiet; a general attack was expected, but it did not take place. The French, posted near a mile behind Aldenhoven, fired several cannon, by which the Austrians lost three of their gunners.

On the 29th the Austrians repulsed the French as far as Hongen; but in the afternoon they returned with reinforcements, and drove away the few troops that were at Putzlon, Iden, and Lammerisdorf. The same day the Austrians received orders to throw a bridge over the Roer, and next day the bridge was almost completed. In the meantime every thing was quiet, and nothing further had occurred in the army.



About this time dispatches were received at Madrid, from the prince of Castelfranco, commander in chief of the forces in the kingdom of Arragon, giving various particulars of his entry into the French territory, the destruction of the French magazines in the valley of Liers, the barracks near Lascun, and some large depôts of grain, &c. near the same place. Some of these advantages seem to have been obtained by the garrison of the valley of Aspe, which had been considerably reinforced; in fine, all the troops in that quarter assembled decidedly for the attack of the French in the vallies of Liers and Lascun, and if possible to surprise the French in that quarter before they could receive any reinforcement. This business, from the nature of the ground, was rendered so extremely difficult, that two whole days were expended by some of the Spanish officers in a reconnoitring excursion, before the enterprise was resolved upon, and received the sanction of a council of war, who were unanimous in their determination of attacking the enemy.

The Spanish troops then began their march in three columns. The first and second columns, after driving the French from their positions, destroyed all their magazines: the third succeeded in raking a battery of three guns belonging to the enemy, and setting fire to the barracks near Lascun; and on the advance of the Spanish troops after this success, the enemy were dislodged from several heights near Aragues, as thirty of the Walloon guards, under Baron Doblorge, kept the enemy at bay, till a reinforcement arrived under Don Pedro de Porras, the enemy fled soon after, with the utmost precipitation; but Baron de Triest, who led one of the columns, it seems was misled by his guides, who lost their way in consequence of the cloudy weather, and a great fall of rain. After silencing the French batteries, and effecting the principal object of this expedition, the Spanish general, speaking of the retreat of his army from Lascun, says, that it was a masterly performance in military tactics, such as in point of merit will not yield to any of a modern date. The French are represented as having lost a vast number of men in this affair, and nothing but the fatigue of the day is said to have prevented the Spaniards from following up their successes at the instant: the fire it seems being kept up during ten hours without intermission. The whole loss of the Spaniards on this occasion did not exceed two hundred killed, wounded, and missing; and from the loss that was sustained by the French, it was presumed they

they would be totally unable to put the plan of attack in execution.

On the 2nd of October the French formed an army of eighteen thousand men at Kassel. The commandant of Venlo sent a patrol to reconnoitre the enemy, but it was too weak to venture far; they however made some prisoners, and were informed that the French had entered Gulik. Their motions, indeed, were now so various, that the allies could not tell where the enemy meant to divert their attacks.

The report of the investment of Maestricht\*, and the surrender of Aix-la-Chapelle, was about this time, made to the convention.

On the 6th, the bombs thrown by the French into Dusseldorf, from the other side of the Rhine, set fire to several parts of the town. The imperial stables, the hotel of Consule, and the Imperial post-house, were burnt down; the great tower was not only burnt, but fell in, and by its fall did much damage.

At this period, the position of the British army was very important. Five thousand British and Hanoverians were posted to defend the pass, at Bommel; the third regiment of guards arrived to share in the post of honour, and general Abercrombie was on his march with a considerable army to command the whole. The Duke of York, in the mean time, was posted at Cleves, Doisburg, and Emmerich. "The defence of Bommel," says an officer in a letter to his friend, "is so strong as to bid defiance, as we believe to all attack; and not even the wonders that the French Republicans have performed, can induce us to believe it possible for them to overcome the artificial obstacles now raised against them. It is obvious, however, that they are not daunted. They are advanced to the attack, and all the late torrents of rain, which have had the double effect of sweeping them off by disease, and of swelling the inundation, do not appear to have either slackened their efforts, or to have diminished their alacrity. If it be the cause alone that supports their souls under such difficulties, it is in vain to say that their

\* Maestricht is a strong fortified town, so called from there having been formerly a ferry over the Maese. The children of this place are subject to that maxim of the civil law, *patria sequitur ventrem*, to that Prince to whom the mother was subject at the time of birth. If a stranger should go there, he must declare to whom he will be subject. The Duke of Brabant is the chief sovereign, possessing the power of coinage, and granting pardon to offenders.

"liberty will not be triumphant: if they accomplish the  
"passage of Bommel, Holland is theirs. With all our con-  
"fidence or success, fifty bylanders and other vessels are  
"moored and chained off Bommel, to transport the  
"troops, if necessary. The roads are all cut up, and bat-  
"teries raised to defend the ground, inch by inch. The  
"inundation is raised from three to six feet, and extends  
"for thirty miles. The poor peasants are obliged to quit  
"their habitations, and the roads are lined with waggons  
"and carts carrying off their families and furniture. Lord  
"Paget commands at present in Bommel, and colonel  
"Eackenzie at the out-posts; in all there are ten thousand  
"men to defend the pass."

The inundations of Holland were now very considerably improved by the heavy rain, and the country about Hult was in every respect a perfect island. Before the sluices were opened, the Dutch had the precaution to plough up the land, and intersect it with deep ditches, that should the French have attempted to cross the water where it was shallow, they would have been buried in the mud, and hurled headlong into the pits, which were generally filled with sharp stakes, so placed under water as to receive both men and horses on their points. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was very vigilant and active to prevent improper persons from crossing the inundations, and every suspicious person was immediately arrested, and closely examined.

On the 16th of October Bois-le-Duc\* surrendered to the French, an event, which from the respectable state of the fortress, and the circumstance of the extensive inundation, was rather unexpected. The garrison consisted of about six thousand Dutch troops, and three hundred French emigrants. The Dutch troops were allowed, with all the honours of war, to march out by the gate of Nimeguen, and to repair to Grave, on condition not to serve against the French republic within the next twelve months. The French emigrants, consisting of two companies of the Legion de Beon, and about seventy volunteers, who served in the Dutch regiments, were conducted into the interior of

\* Bois-le-Duc, the principal town of Brabant, is so called from the Latin Boscum Discijs, derived from a pleasant wood, belonging to the Dukes of Brabant, having been where the town is now situated. It is built near a little river, called the Deese, on the borders of Guelderland, and is strongly fortified. The cathedral is large, magnificent, and embellished with the finest dials in Europe. This town was taken by the confederate states from the king of Spain, after a long and expensive siege, anno 1628.

France, and received general Pichegru's solemn promise, that the well known decrees against emigrants should not be put in execution against them. The smallness of the garrison was said to be the reason of this unexpected surrender.

Not long after Venlo, capitulated; concerning the siege and surrender of which the following are the particulars. On the 4th of October, at the first approach of the French, the whole garrison of Venlo, and the spacious fort of St. Michael, consisted of no more than one thousand two hundred men fit for service; then duty, of course, was extremely fatiguing. On the 21st, the French had pushed their works within a pistol shot of the pallisadoes of the covered way before the gate leading to Ruremonde, and from these works their grenadiers and chasseurs killed and wounded several soldiers of the garrison on their posts. A small sortie was therefore determined upon. A detachment of one hundred and thirty volunteers, commanded by Captain Rost, of the regiment of Panhuys, and twenty-five horse, executed this duty with as much valour as success. The French having been driven out of their first entrenchment, were pursued to their second and third, while the pioneers levelled and destroyed the first. This success, however, was not obtained without loss. Three officers were wounded, and fifty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates either wounded or killed. The French, however, soon re-established their works, and pushed them on with so much activity and spirit, on both sides of the town, that on the 23d, the guns were no longer able to hurt them, and they killed and wounded many of the troops in the out-works of the place. The garrison being now dwindled to the number of nine hundred and fifty men, many of whom for five, six, and seven days together, had been constantly on duty, it was found impossible any longer to defend the out-works, which were of course abandoned, and the defence confined to the body of the place. In this situation the town was summoned to surrender on the 24th of October. A capitulation was drawn up, the fifth article of which purported, that the garrison should be allowed to serve against the enemies of the United Netherlands. This article having been rejected, it was determined to defend the town to the last extremity; which determination, however, inclined the French general, Laurent, to agree to the above article, and the capitulation was signed on the 26th.

The successes of the French armies, during this month, were indeed so numerous and rapid, that it must suffice here only

only to mention many of them. On the 9th, they made themselves masters of Sechelless, Odunbach, and the city of Vellheim. On the 10th, the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle formed a junction at Lautreck. On the 14th, they took the towns of Auterberg, Rozzenhausen, Lausberg, Abzem, and Obenhause. On the 15th the towns of Gellheim and Graustadtz yielded to the army of the Rhine; and to the army of the Moselle, the towns of Trorback, Borgcastle, Birkenfield, Oberstein, Kirm, and Misenheim. They then marched against Creutznach, from which they were to proceed against Ruidalsheim, Leisalthheim, and Pedersheim. On the 17th, Frankendal was taken, and on the 18th, in the evening, they entered the beautiful episcopal city of Worms. Bengen opened its gates to the French on the 20th; general Marceau, who was ordered by general Jourdan to march against Coblentz, reached that place on the 23d, and, after defeating the Austrians, took possession of it. At the same time Hulst, Sans-de-Gand, Phillippine, and Axelle fell into the hands of the French.

On the 19th of October, the French attacked the advanced posts of the Duke of York's army, at Nimeguen, particularly that of Drutin, which was defended by the thirty-seventh regiment, and that of Appeltherm, where the Prince of Rohan's light battalion was posted. In repelling the attack, the troops discovered the greatest bravery; but at last the post on the left of the thirty-seventh regiment, which was occupied by a detachment of Rohan Hussars, having been forced, major Hope, who commanded the thirty-seventh, and who distinguished himself exceedingly, was obliged to retreat upon the Dyke along the Wasi, which he continued for some time, without being much annoyed by the enemy: unfortunately, however, a strong body of the French hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come upon them unmolested, when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the Dyke, which, on every other occasion, must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge, and suffered very considerably. Of the whole regiment only major Hope and about fifty men escaped; but as eight of the officers were taken prisoners, it is probable that many of the privates were so too, and that the number of the killed was not so great as was at first reported.

About the beginning of November, the cannon both of the English and French, at and near Nimeguen roared incessantly

cessantly for three days and nights. The English, Dutch and Hanoverians made a successful sortie on the 4th which was conducted in a very masterly manner, and never did the British troops display more cool and deliberate courage. A new Highland regiment, lately arrived from England, under colonel M'Kenzie, distinguished themselves very much, as did the Dutch regiment (Bentinck's) which had never been in action before during the war.

At five in the afternoon, the troops marched out of Nimeguen. They consisted of five British, one Hessian, and two Dutch battalions, with some corps of cavalry. The latter went round a wood, and came in rear of the French works, while the allied troops drove the enemy from their entrenchments with the bayonet. About five hundred of the French were killed, and three only made prisoners. The whole loss sustained by the allies, consisted in about two hundred men killed and wounded, of which *one hundred and seventy four* were British. Thirteen British officers were wounded. Captain Archer, of the sixty-third regiment, had some narrow escapes. Just as he left his bed-chamber, a shell struck his lodging-house, and passed through his room; which gave way, and the house soon after tumbled down. Several shots passed close by him; one of them struck off two buttons from the breast of his coat, and another touched the corner of his elbow. Major-General De Burg was amongst the killed. The works of the French were very much injured, and would have been quite destroyed, had not the *Dutch workmen run away*.

On the 5th the troops of the republic returned, and erected a formidable battery against the bridge, near which they sunk two boats. On the evening of the 6th the troops were with-drawn from Nimeguen four thousand men excepted, the half of which were Dutch; and on the 7th the town was completely evacuated.

Much about the same time Maastricht opened its gates, the garrison of eight thousand Austrians having compelled the Dutch, consisting of three thousand, to surrender; though there was plenty of ammunition and provision in the garrison, and the town was not in the least damaged. The garrison, by the articles of capitulation, bound themselves not to act against the French until exchanged.

What has been said of Cæsar, "that he left nothing undone to obtain the completion of his designs," may be applied to the leading men of France. New processes have been brought to perfection for the acquisition of saltpetre;

petre, in proportion to the immense quantity of powder that they consume; the telegraphe, invented to establish between the government and the armies a correspondence almost as rapid as thought; the balloon system applied to the military art, in the most ingenious manner, to know the position of the enemy, and to disconcert their projects; and a thousand other means, either invented or brought to perfection, or put in use, to make their cause triumphant, prove the truth of this assertion. Ought not the combined powers also, while they pursue the old tactics of war, to make use of other resources?

Meanwhile the following address from the Prince of Orange was distributed in the provinces of Holland and Guelderland. "My illustrious father has empowered me "to call upon every good citizen for their assistance in the "defence of the confines, and to contend for the preservation of their religion and their country; I therefore call "upon all the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland, to unite and stand up for the defence of their "houses and lands, their lives and properties. Here are "arms, powder and ball—take them with a good heart, "and use them with a strong hand. Not a man of you, "unless he chuses, shall go out of his province, but let each "of you, in your respective districts, prevent the enemy "from advancing any further. Brave and faithful countrymen!—let us fight one and all for our dear country. "Soldiers, citizens, and peasants!—let us all unanimously "assemble under the same banner; I will fight with you "for the salvation of the country, and may God give us "the victory."

The allies, when they formed the league of Pilnitz, supposed that the wealth of the commercial members of that association, and the soldiers of Germany, would make the reduction of the French revolutionists a matter of certainty. They made no allowance for the energy of passion, the contrivance of necessity, and the perseverance of deeply-rooted opinion! With the recent emancipation of America, however, before their eyes, they might have foreseen the difficulties that must arise from an attack on France. An enlightened, as well as a most candid and impartial historian, although he had borne arms against the revolted Americans, on a general retrospect of the American war, makes, among others, the following reflections: "While the "natural strength and spirit of Great Britain were embarrassed and encumbered with the disadvantages and errors "now enumerated, the Americans, in spite of a thousand "difficulties

“difficulties and wants, by the energy of liberty, the convenience of necessity, and the great advantages arising from the possession of the country, ultimately attained their object. The American generals, having the bulk of the people on their side, were made acquainted with every movement of the British army, and enabled, for the most part, to penetrate their designs. To obtain intelligence, on which so much depends, was to the British commanders a matter of proportionable difficulty. The Americans had neither money nor credit; but they learned to stand in need of only a few things; to be contented with the small allowance that nature requires; to suffer as well as to act. Their councils, animated by liberty, under the most distressing circumstances, took a grand and high-spirited course, and they were finally triumphant.”—The same philosophical politician, on the same occasion observes that, “Had the measures adopted by Britain been adopted in time, perhaps they would not have been adopted in vain. Her concessions, as well as her armaments, were always too late. Earlier concession, or an earlier application of that mighty force, which was at the disposal of the commanders in chief in 1777, might perhaps have prevented or quashed the revolution\*.”

The present war, perhaps, was entered on rather rashly; but, since what has past cannot be recalled, the question is, what is now to be done? Undoubtedly all Europe should unite in order to repress the French within their own territories; otherwise, says a judicious writer†, their thirst for territorial conquest, their *gaio-mania*, will increase. About a century before the birth of Christ, more than three hundred thousand men, known by the name of the Cimbri and Teutones, forsaking their own country on the shores of the Baltic, went in search of plunder and glory. They attacked and subdued whatever people they found in their passage; and, as they met with no resistance, resolved to push their conquests farther. Their career was not to be stopt by any thing less than the political and martial courage of the Romans. They sent an embassy to the Romans, to offer them their services, on the condition that they would give them lands to cultivate. But, although the consternation which the Cimbri and Teutones had raised in Italy and at Rome was extreme, the senate, too prudent to enter into any kind of accommodation with such dan-

\* Stedman's History of the American War.

† Author of that sensible article in the English Review, entitled “National Affairs.”



gerous enemies, returned to their demand a direct refusal. War ensued, and the barbarians were conquered, and almost entirely cut off by the *Roman MARIUS*. But had the Roman senate attempted to soothe and quiet the Cimbri by territorial concessions, either in Gaul or Spain, Italy too must by and by have become the prey of rapacity only inflamed by gratification. Germany is now, as Italy at the time of the Cimbric migration, the most warlike of the European nations. Where, since the death of *FREDERIC the Great of Prussia*, shall we find a *MARIUS*?

In the assembly at Ratisbon, about this period, the proposal of the minister from the elector of Mentz, to enter into negotiations of peace with France, through the mediation of the courts of Sweden and Denmark, was but coolly received.

The Imperial ministers declared, that the proposal came to them very unexpectedly. The Hanoverian minister took the proposal *ad referendum*. The minister from Brandenburg was not present, but the Hanoverian minister declared the same in his name. The Saxon minister waited for further deliberation on the question. Other ministers did not come to any determination; and some said they had already mentioned their objections to the proposed mediation.

On the 15th of October, Watt, who had been found guilty of high-treason was executed at Edinburgh. At one o'clock the sheriff depute and substitute took coach from the sheriff clerk's office, and went to the castle, to receive Watt from the governor. At twenty minutes past one, the two youngest magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by their constables of the old institution, who are composed of respectable citizens and burgesses of Edinburgh, and escorted by the city guard, set out to meet the sheriff and the prisoner. By appointment, the sheriff, with two companies of the Argyllshire fencibles guarding the prisoner, met them at the water-house, which is the utmost limit of the precincts of the castle.

Here the duty of the fencible soldiers ceased, and in very slow and solemn procession, Watt was conducted down the street to the prison of Edinburgh, which they entered, precisely five minutes before two o'clock; and at a quarter past two, Watt appeared on the plat-form. Psalms were sung, and prayers given by the principal Baird. Watt was uncommonly devout; he joined in the psalms, and afterwards prayed fervently, standing on his feet all the while; he then ascended the table, but something being wrong

about the rope, he came down, fell on his knees, and prayed for some time. He again ascended, and at adjusting the rope, he agreed with the executioner, that the dropping of his handkerchief should be the signal. He then prayed a third time, and having given the signal, the table was dropped two minutes before three, he was dead in two minutes. He continued hanging till half-past three. An oblong narrow table was then brought onward; it was painted black, and had a kind of block at one end. The rope was cut, and the body laid upon it, with the breast uppermost. A basket of the cylindrical form was prepared to receive the head. At this the multitude, who had been comparatively silent, broke out into a murmur, of a kind that can hardly be described. The executioner then came forward, and said something to the mob, which was not distinctly heard, while he brandished a broad sharp axe. He then went to the body, and uplifted his axe, as if in the attitude of striking. The effect of this was like a shock of electricity. The women screamed and fainted, and hundreds ran down the wynds and closes in every direction. At two blows the head was severed from the body, and the executioner held it up streaming with blood, proclaiming, in the usual way, "This is the head of a traitor." The trunk, dressed as it was, was then laid in a coarse coffin, a parcel of saw-dust thrown on it, the head was then thrown in, and the lid nailed. There probably never was so great a multitude assembled in Edinburgh; not only the windows, but the tops of all the houses were occupied. And in every part of the street from the Luckenbooths, to the Castle Hill, the people were absolutely packed. There was, however, no disturbance.

In England, however, John Horne Tooke, Esq. Messrs. Hardy, Thelwall, &c. who were soon after tried on a charge of high treason, were acquitted. Their acquittal proved the unrivalled excellence of the constitution and laws of England, and gave general and lively satisfaction. It is a glorious political and civil constitution, which can form such a spirit as that of Mr. Tooke, whose conduct and deportment throughout the trial, displayed the highest talents as well as fortitude. Mr. Erskine's address to the jury on behalf of Mr. Hardy, lasted nearly six hours. It was marked with that enthusiastic animation which is the character of this eloquent advocate; and contained every possible appeal to the feelings and passions of the jury, to induce them to acquit the prisoner of the crime charged in the

the indictment, "The compassing and imagining the death of the King." Mr. Erskine concluded with the following beautiful peroration: "My wish and my recommendation is not to conjure up a spirit among us to destroy ourselves, by bringing on the tyranny of a French tribunal, where an accusation is enough to bring its object to the guillotine. Let us keep to the old and venerable rules and laws of our forefathers; and let a jury of the country feel the duty they owe the public, to themselves, to posterity, and to God, to preserve by law the life of a man who only asks it of them on the terms they would, in their turn, ask their own. I shall now conclude with a fervent wish, and a fond hope, that it may please God, who guides the world, moulds governments at his will, and who governs us all in justice and in mercy, from whose care and bounty has arisen the prosperity and glory of this happy island, to enlighten and direct your minds! To your care I now commit my client, without fear, being confident that you will do him justice!"

The prorogation of parliament to the 30th of December, filled the public mind with conjecture. Many were the different opinions entertained respecting this unexpected proceeding. The trials for high treason, the appearance of a change in the ministry, from Mr. Pitt having been left in a cabinet minority, the disunion of measures in the allies, and the present negotiations for a separate peace between some of the belligerent powers and France, formed the chief of the various causes assigned.

When we view Holland, at this period, we view an enigma in national disposition. To see a people so immersed in the pursuits of avarice, absorbed in their own personal indifference, insensible to their real dangers, and ungrateful to their defenders, excite a disgust for the human character, and chill the heart, glowing with ardour for the safety of them, as connected with the general cause of nations. To defend the Dutch, therefore, might be considered as the height of war-quixotism, were there not political reasons for it.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Decree of the Convention respecting the Jacobin Club and other popular Societies.—Mutual Recriminations.—Acts of barbarity brought to light.—The Jacobins are driven out of their hall.—Arrangements between Great Britain and America.—The French take an important place from the Spaniards, near Pampeluna.—General Kosciuszko defeated and taken prisoner.—Surrender of Warsaw.*

THE struggle in the national convention of France between the moderates, and those who were in favour of severer measures, or more properly of the Jacobin principles, now began to determine in favour of the former. Much had been said at different times of purifying the popular societies in Paris, and an address preparatory to such a step was made to the people and published. It recommended to the public not to be carried away by party, to let the laws have their proper course, and not to throw obstacles in the way of the completion of the ultimate good purposes of the revolution. This address had the best effect, and the deputations from all the sections of Paris appeared at the bar of the convention, who assured that assembly of their love for the republic, and their resolution to do every thing set forth in the address, for the good of the country. The way being thus far cleared, a proposal was made on the 16th of October, in the name of the three committees, to prohibit by decree, *all clubs and federations, affiliations, and aggregations*, as well as all correspondence between the societies of the people, as being against the good of the country; and that every society shall give in a list of the names of their members, their age, place of abode, calling, and what was their employment before the 14th of June, 1789. This occasioned warm debates: some contended, that the convention had no right to interfere in the correspondence of such societies; whilst others said, that the correspondence of such societies, was the greatest nursery of aristocracy possible. Bентаbole said, "Crush the power of the Jacobins, and you will soon find the combined powers make overtures of peace." At last the decree was agreed to, and the citizens in the tribunes and in the gardens of the convention, made the air ring with applauses, and the cry of *Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention!*

A few days after, Cambon accused Tallien as one of the chief promoters of the horrid massacres. He particularly ascribed to him the murder of the three hundred ecclesiastics in the church of the Carmalites in Paris, and declared that he was a leader of the party who compelled the legislative assembly to pronounce that Louis forfeited the crown, in order to put in his place that contemptible wretch, the duke of Orleans.

Tallien in his defence against this charge, gives a sketch of the horrid scenes of blood which have disgraced the revolution. He thus retaliates upon his opponents: "As my own conduct is impeached, I challenge inquiry. I am not one of those men who have inundated the departments with blood; who, by shooting and drowning their fellow-citizens, have rendered the revolution odious. If you will call the attention of the people to your own crimes, if you will remind them of the banks of the Loire and of the Seine, I will call their attention to my conduct. Since you accuse me of massacring refractory priests, I call the attention of the people to the thousands of victims you have massacred in the south, and drowned in the Loire. I have wished to avoid every thing that might revive diffension, but since you invoke the public vengeance upon me, I invoke the public vengeance upon you, former members of the committee of public safety; upon you, former members of the committee of general safety; upon you, commissioners to the departments of the Pays de Calais, of the south, and the banks of the Loire. Let the people pronounce between us; between you and the patriots, who are now daily exposed to the poinards which you and your satellites point at their breasts. Never was innocent blood shed by my orders; never did the idea of it disturb my sleep. Ask the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, if among them I committed extortions, or punished any but the guilty? Ask the inhabitants of Nismes, of Nantes, and various other places, and see what answer you will receive. These accusations, I think, will not be renewed; but if they are renewed, I declare that, without waiting for the usual forms, I will go before the revolutionary tribunal, and carry my accuser thither along with me."

The diffentions among the parties brought to light an act of barbarity, which filled the whole audience in the galleries of the convention, with horror and indignation. Merlin of Thionville related the story. He said, that the adjutant-general le Febvre ordered, in the month of February last, forty-one persons, of whom two men were seventy-

eight years of age, twelve women, twelve young girls, an fifteen young children, five of them at the breast, to be embarked on board a vessel, of which citizen Macee was the captain : these unhappy people were taken out to sea, and at six o'clock in the evening were all thrown overboard, as being rebels to the law ; such was the pretext. Merlin then demanded, that Le Febure should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal, " where he shall disclose," says Merlin, " the atrocious tyrants to whom the country was " to have been abandoned. This adjutant-general would " not have conducted himself thus, if he had not had powerful support."

On the 9th of November groups of people assembled at the Thuilleries, and the Palais Royal, in order to excite the populace in favour of the Jacobins. When the Jacobin society met, the two parties, for some time, confined themselves to cries, *Vive la Convention*, and *Vivent les Jacobins* ; but each party irritating the other, they at last proceeded to acts of violence. Several sallies were made from the hall of the Jacobins, and a desperate conflict took place, in which some were killed, and many wounded. For some time the members of the Jacobin society appeared to be the stronger party ; but the people proceeded in crowds from the different sections, assailed the hall of the Jacobins with stones, and taking possession of it, drove out the members, locked up the hall, and carried the keys to the convention.

The leading terms of the late arrangements agreed on between Great Britain and America were now made known to the public. " The posts which have been retained by the British, since the last treaty of peace, are " to be restored to the Americans in eighteen months. A " commercial intercourse is to take place between America " and the British West Indies, at a low duty on tonnage. " And the important question, whether neutral bottoms " make free ships ? is to be referred to commissioners, " who are to make their report at the end of two years."

The French having over-run Navarre, took, about this period, an important place near Pampeluna ; when the Spanish army retreated, and left the enemy within twelve miles of that city. Meanwhile the French received a reinforcement of fourteen thousand men ; and eighteen thousand more were coming, had they not been detained by an insurrection at Bourdeaux. As the invasion of the Germans, however, roused and united the French in the cause of freedom, so the invasion of the French may animate and unite the Spaniards in that of religion, and the customs of Spain. They

They conduct themselves with dignity and firmness; nor is there a doubt, but, with the advantage of a strong natural barrier, they will be able to defend their country.

The *Poles*, worthy of freedom, and capable of regulated liberty, are oppressed and abandoned, it would seem, by all the world. But, as great military and naval preparations are going on at Constantinople, the Turks, perhaps, will yet succour the Poles.

On the 10th of October, the Polish general Kosciusko was completely defeated by the Russians, and himself and several of his principal officers taken prisoners. The particulars of this engagement are as follow: The battle lasted from seven in the morning, till twelve o'clock in the day, and Kosciusko appeared in it more glorious, though the event happened to prove almost the entire destruction of his army, than ever did any hero of former times. Where the greatest danger was, there he placed himself, and three horses were killed under him. At last a Cossack wounded him from behind with a lance, without knowing who he was, till his attendants when he fell, in their confusion, called him by his name. Kosciusko recovered himself so much, that he ran a few yards, when a Russian officer cut him across the head, and he fell a second time to the ground, seemingly lifeless; so that it was thought he would hardly live to be informed of the misfortune which befel those who were under his command. Some time after, however, the intelligence of his being out of danger, diffused universal joy. Before the battle, he gave orders to his soldiers, that in case he should fall into the hands of the enemy, they might if possible shoot him, in order to prevent his being carried off in triumph. This was actually attempted by some of them; and had they not called out his name in their consternation, he would not have been known, for he was in a peasant's dress, which he never since the beginning of the confederation, had put off. The Russians directed their march to Warsaw; and in all parts of Poland, through which they passed, they assembled the states to effect a counter-revolution, in which they generally proved successful.

In consequence of the defeat of Kosciusko, the Russian general, Count Fersen, sent a letter to the king of Poland demanding the "*immediate release of the Russian minister, and all the officers attached to the empire, now in confinement at Warsaw.*" To which the king returned for answer;—"*That he could not comply with the request on any other condition.*"

*"sisteratio*

*“sideration, than as an exchange of prisoners, and that he was resolved to stand by the revolution.”*

As the loss of general Kosciuszko, so dear to the Poles, and the very soul of the revolution, threatened to produce some alarming consequences at Warsaw, an address was published on the part of the supreme council to the people, assuring them, that the chiefs of the revolution would remain firm at their posts. General Wawrzewski was then appointed to succeed Kosciuszko in the command of the Polish army.

The fate of their gallant leader, however, could not fail to depress the spirits of his patriotic adherents. The surrender of Warsaw, therefore, soon followed. The Russians having taken the suburb of Praga, on the 14th of November, and rendered themselves masters of the whole Polish camp, the cannonade from Warsaw upon Praga lasted the whole day, and was very weakly answered by the Russians. Towards the night, the cannonade ceased entirely, because the magistrates sent a deputation to General Suwarrow to request a capitulation. The night between the 4th and 5th, was terrible to the inhabitants.

On the fifth at noon, the deputies Burakowski, Strazakowski, and Mackarowicz, returned from the Russian camp, where they had delivered a letter from the King of Poland to General Suwarrow, and entreated him to spare the capital, as it would surrender at discretion, and begged for safety of person and property. General Suwarrow immediately dictated some articles of capitulation to the following purport: 1. To lay down immediately all arms. 2. To put all the artillery and stores in one place. 3. To set all the prisoners and hostages immediately at liberty. 4. To restore without delay the lawful constitution. 5. To repair immediately the bridge for the Russian troops to enter the city. 6. General Suwarrow promises on his part, safety to the king's sacred person, 7. Safety to the persons and the property of the inhabitants. 8. A total oblivion of all that had happened.

The magistrates of Warsaw immediately published this capitulation, and requested the inhabitants to accede to the terms proposed. The inhabitants gave their consent; but the executive council, the army, and Generalissimo Wawrzewski, seemed dissatisfied with it, as they had not been included in the capitulation.

On the 6th, the deputies returned to General Suwarrow, and said, that the magistrates and citizens had fulfilled his wishes, as far as it was in their power; but that the supreme



preme national council, Generalissimo Wawrzewski, and the regular troops had still the upper hand, and would not agree with the king and the burghers.—General Suwarrow answered, “ I advise the ruling faction to submit, as this “ will be the only means to avert the hard fate which “ awaits them.” He then said, that for his part, if the regulars would not lay down their arms, he would give them liberty to leave the city; but they might expect to be overtaken by his vengeance wherever they should go.

On the 7th at ten o'clock in the morning, the members of the supreme council, and General Wawrzewski, waited on the king, and surrendered to him all their power, and the chief command of the military. General Suwarrow now informed the king by letter, that in order to procure safety to his majesty, and tranquillity to the capital, he should enter the place on the 9th, which he accordingly did, at the head of his army; when the magistrates came to receive him, and delivered the keys of the place into his hands.

When the Russians entered Warsaw, all the houses and windows were shut.

Baron Buhler, the Russian envoy to the Court of Munich, who, during eight months, had been kept a prisoner at Warsaw, immediately set out for Petersburg to give the Empress an account of her victories, and of the situation of affairs in Poland.

The Polish patriots, who refused to accede to the capitulation of Warsaw, took their route towards Sandomir, under the command of Wawrzewski. Their number was thirty thousand. In want, however, of provisions, and pressed by the Russians and Prussians, they were soon forced to disband, after spiking eighty pieces of cannon. The Prussian general Kliest, took twenty-two pieces, nineteen waggons of ammunition, and three thousand stand of arms. The remainder of the booty fell into the hands of the Russians. A corps of six thousand men still remained under Wawrzewski, who was accompanied by the brave Madalinski, Dombrowski, Zaoufeck, and the Chancellor Kollontay. They proceeded towards Galicia.

The capture of Warsaw is a circumstance that every person but the Russians laments. It adds to the overgrown dominions of a despotic prince, and blasts that tree of freedom under which the Polish nation, by the laws

of

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of God and nature, sought happiness for themselves and for their posterity. It is an event likewise on which Europe should look with a jealous eye, as it certainly tends to destroy that balance of power, by which the respective interests of surrounding nations can only be preserved.

*F I N I S.*







A  
V I E W  
OF  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.  
INCLUDING  
AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS  
IN  
FRANCE, POLAND, SWEDEN, GENEVA,  
&c. &c.  
TOGETHER WITH  
AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE  
OF THE LATE  
MILITARY OPERATIONS;  
AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

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By the Rev. J. ADAMS, A.M.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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History is philosophy, teaching by examples, how to conduct ourselves in every situation of private or public life. *Belingbroke.*

A man who does not think he dropped from the clouds, or does not date the origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and countries. *King of Prussia*

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MDCCLXX.



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